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THE JERUSALEM POST

Vol. LIV, No. 16405 Friday, December 26, 1986 • Kiselev 24, 5747 • Rabin Tami 25, 1407 NIS 1.40 (Eilat NIS 1.22)

BAZAK
Guide to Israel
Sole Agent - Steinitzky

Asked to work on Iranian arms sales

Pollard told: Get 'dirt' on Israeli VIPs

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
WASHINGTON. — Israel master-spy Rafael Eitan unsuccessfully tried to pressure convicted spy Jonathan Jay Pollard into collecting damaging and embarrassing information from U.S. intelligence files about Israeli cabinet ministers and Knesset members. The Jerusalem Post has learned.

The "dirt," as one authoritative U.S. source described the information, could have been used by Eitan and his associates to "blackmail" the Israeli politicians.

But Pollard, a former civilian intelligence analyst for the U.S. Navy, understood Eitan's objectives and refused to provide him with the

information — a decision which deeply angered Eitan and may have led to his eventual decision to abandon the American agent after his arrest.

Eitan, a tough veteran of the Mossad who later served as adviser on counter-terrorism to Prime Ministers Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir and as head of the Lekem scientific intelligence-gathering unit in the Defense Ministry, was Pollard's chief "handler." After Pollard's arrest by the FBI outside the Israeli Embassy on November 21, 1985, the Lekem unit was disbanded. Eitan, who is close to Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon, is today the head of Israel Chemicals, the largest government-owned firm in the country.

An extensive investigation of the Pollard affair in recent weeks — including interviews with key U.S. Justice Department officials, law-enforcement officers, and intelligence community analysts, as well as with authoritative Israeli and other sources — has resulted in these additional revelations:

□ Pollard, just prior to his arrest in 1985, was asked by another of his handlers, Yosef Yagur, the Science Attaché at the Israeli Consulate in New York, to work on potential Israeli arms sales to Iran. Israel was then deeply involved in trying to strengthen Iran's air-defense systems around Kharg Island, which was coming under heavy attack from Iraq.

At the time of his arrest, according to Justice Department documents, Pollard had just completed a letter to Yagur concerning the missile systems "designed or manufactured by various non-communist countries, which might be available for sale to Iran."

Beginning in the summer of 1985, according to recent disclosures concerning the controversial U.S. and Israeli arms shipments to Iran, the U.S. and Israeli governments coordinated much of their strategy in trying to forge an opening towards "moderate" elements in Iran and in winning the release of American hostages in Lebanon.

□ The Israeli government is revising (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Air drama over Saudi Arabia

Hijacked Iraqi plane explodes, killing 62

Post Middle East Staff and agencies
An Iraqi Airways jet hijacked yesterday en route from Baghdad to Amman exploded and crashed in the northern Saudi Arabia desert, killing 62 of the 107 people on board.

Preliminary reports stated that the Boeing 737 exploded at about 1 p.m. after a mid-air struggle between the hijackers and security guards, according to the Kuwait News Agency. Jordanian Television and aviation sources said the plane was hijacked shortly after it left Baghdad and diverted to the Arar airfield in Saudi Arabia after one of the hijackers set off a grenade on board.

According to one report from Jordan, there were four hijackers on the aircraft, two of whom were killed in the crash. The other two men were arrested by the Saudi authorities.

In Paris, the Iraqi ambassador to France accused Iraq's Gulf War enemy Iran of being behind the hijacking, although he said he had no official confirmation of the charge.

The Saudi Information Ministry said the jet tried to make an

emergency landing at Arar airport but crashed and burned when it overshoot the runway by about 800 metres.

The Saudi statement said that 32 of the survivors were injured, but most of their injuries were not serious. The fate of one person aboard the flight was unknown.

The plane, flying on a regularly scheduled flight, carried 91 passengers, 15 crew members and one security officer, according to the Saudi statement.

Among those who escaped unharmed was Suleiman Arar, a former Jordanian deputy prime minister and interior minister, said an official Jordanian communiqué, which also reported the hijacking.

The Jordanian report said two of seven Jordanians on board were killed and two were injured.

Iraq's ambassador to France, Mohammed Sadiq el-Maschat, called the hijacking "a crime of the Iranian regime." The hijacking came just after Iran launched a new offensive against Iraq in its southern border war zone on Wednesday.

"This is not the first time the Iraqis have attacked Iraq," said

the ambassador, speaking to the Associated Press in a telephone interview.

In Beirut, an anonymous caller, who said he spoke on behalf of a "Revolutionary Action Organization," told the official Lebanese news agency that the group was responsible for "blowing up the Iraqi airliner above Saudi land."

He made no mention of a hijacking but said he would call later with further details.

An informed Jordanian source said that a plane was on its way from Jordan to Arar to pick up survivors. Others injured were to be moved to Iraq "at Baghdad's request" after treatment in Saudi hospitals, the Saudi report said.

Jordanian Television said that Saudi authorities had sent a hospital plane to Arar to help treat victims. It added that King Hussein was in contact with King Fahd of Saudi Arabia and Jordanian survivors of the attack.

The Saudi report made no mention of hijackers, although Jordanian and other reports from the Arab world said the plane had been hijacked and blown up.

Islamic Jihad cell in Gaza suspected of 2 murders

By JOEL GREENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter
Security forces have uncovered an Islamic Jihad cell in Gaza allegedly responsible for the murder of two Ashkelon men in recent months.

A military spokesman said members of the group are suspected of fatally stabbing Haim Azran on September 27 and Yisrael Kitano on October 7 in Gaza. Members of the group are also suspected of stabbing and wounding Shabtai Shvili of Ashkelon on November 12.

The group belonged to a larger Islamic Jihad ring uncovered recently in Gaza and suspected of having staged the October grenade attack on Givati brigade recruits near Jerusalem's Dung Gate.

In the West Bank, security forces sealed rooms in the homes of eight Palestinians accused of hurling hand-grenades and petrol bombs at Israeli buses and army vehicles near the Kalandia and Jelazoun refugee camps in April and June.

Four of the men are from Kalandia, three are from Jelazoun, and one is from the village of Dura al-Kara. The house of one suspect, who escaped from custody, was completely sealed.

Christmas respite from Irangate

WASHINGTON (Reuters). — President Reagan and the First Lady enjoyed a respite from the Iranian arms affair yesterday as they celebrated their sixth Christmas at the White House with a dinner for friends and relatives.

Guests for the traditional dinner of turkey, roast chestnuts and plum pudding include U.S. Information Agency Director Charles Wick, former White House aide Michael Deaver and Nancy Reagan's brother Richard Davis.

Latest media reports of the unfolding scandal include a story by CBS on Wednesday that some of the proceeds from the Iranian arms sales may have been spent on a scheme to ship weapons to Nicaraguan Contra rebels through Portugal.

The network said Guatemala was listed as the destination for arms (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)



Ethiopian immigrant children light a hanukkah for the first time yesterday in a ceremony at the Emunah day-care centre in Netanya. They are joined by the child of Soviet immigrants. (Studio 23)

France to oust several suspects of 'ME origin'

PARIS (Reuters). — France will expel five of six people of Middle East origin who were arrested last week after a large cache of arms and explosives was found in a Paris suburb, an Interior Ministry spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman said expulsion orders signed by Interior Minister Charles Pasqua had been issued to two Syrians and three Jordanians who constituted a "menace to public order."

Police sources said the six were suspected of belonging to the Islamic fundamentalist Moslem Brotherhood, dedicated opponents of the Syrian and Egyptian governments.

They were arrested last week following discovery of an arms cache in Aubry-sous-Bois northeast of Paris that included 30 kilos of explosives, 51 detonators, five submachine guns and two pistols.

But they were released on Monday for lack of evidence when police found no direct link between them and the stock of arms. One of the six is a naturalized French citizen and does not face expulsion.

Hospital departments may be closed soon

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter
Entire departments in the country's government hospitals may close down within a few weeks if they do not receive financial aid, Health Minister Shoshana Arbelli-Almosino told the Knesset Finance Committee yesterday.

But the committee's chairman, MK Avraham Shapira (Agudat Yisrael), told the minister he would block the funds she was seeking until more aid was granted to Laniado and Bikur Holim hospitals, which are both linked with the ultra-Orthodox population.

Shapira said the government was "discriminating between sick people," and described its attitude as "Jewish anti-Semitism." According to the Agudat Yisrael MK, the

Health Ministry had not requested aid for hospitals that had "a smell of religion."

Arbelli-Almosino said her ministry needed NIS 27 million urgently to prevent a major financial crisis in government hospitals. She added that in some cases the hospitals had spent their allocations for the current fiscal year six months before it ended.

Shapira remarked during the debate that he could not understand why the hospital directors were still in their posts, since they were responsible for the crisis. He said he was aware of the suffering of patients, but would not permit the requested aid to be approved until the two ultra-Orthodox hospitals received equal treatment.

Bassiouny: Egypt to begin working for int'l parley

Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — Egypt's Foreign Ministry director-general will begin preparations on Sunday to convene an international body for peace negotiations, Egyptian Ambassador Mohammed Bassiouny said here yesterday.

"There is no alternative but to have the PLO at the [peace] conference," he told a meeting of the Rotary Club. But the PLO that ultimately negotiates with Israel would be "a different PLO altogether," the ambassador said, although the transformation "may take a very long, long time."

He said PLO participation was essential because no Palestinian — "not even a Freij of Bethlehem or an a-Shawwa of Gaza" — would attend a peace conference without PLO approval.

Bassiouny stressed that an international umbrella was necessary to draw Jordan into the negotiations. The ambassador said the Egyptian authorities had established a special

tribunal to assess damages due to the Ras Burka victims at a level consistent with Israeli standards "rather than the living standards of the average Egyptian."

On the broader issue of Egyptian tourism to Israel, Bassiouny conceded that Egyptians seeking to travel here do face restrictions. But he argued that Egyptians, being poor, "do not have the habit of travelling abroad."

But there was a large flow of visitors to Egypt from Israel, he said. On Wednesday, for example, the Egyptian consul had issued 1,200 visas to Israelis going to Cairo.

Egypt, he asserted, was on the path of peace: "The Israelis may sleep safely, assured that their neighbour in the south will not attack them."

Labour: Extend levy on vehicles

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter
A growing number of Labour Party ministers are seeking to extend the levy on private cars for another year and to raise purchase taxes. They believe that the extra revenue from these taxes, estimated at about NIS 100 million, would make some of the planned cuts in health, education and defence unnecessary.

The ministerial committees established early this week to determine the details of the tax reforms and budget cuts continued their work yesterday. The committee dealing with the budget — composed of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Vice Premier Shimon Peres, Finance Minister Moshe Nissim and Economics Minister Gad Ya'acobi — met with Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin and heard his determined opposition to any cuts in his ministry budget.

The committees are expected to modify the sweeping economic reforms drafted by the Treasury, so that they would be acceptable to the Histadrut, the employers and the Labour Party. The committee on the budget is to reach its conclusions by next week, and they will have the authority of cabinet decisions.

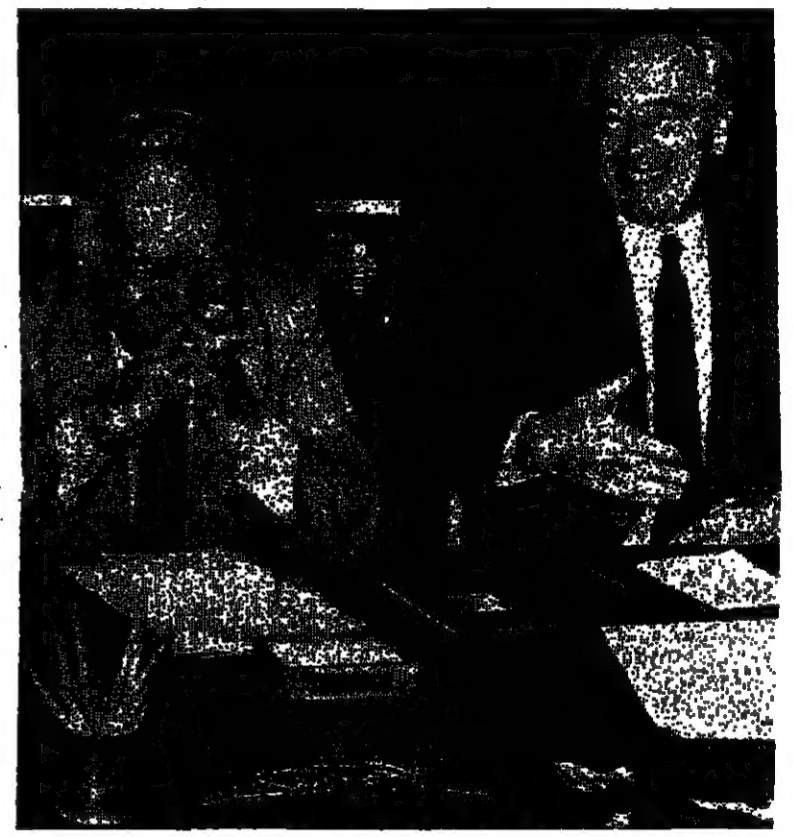
Rabin told the ministers there was no room for slashing military expenditures, since this would harm the country's security. Instead of being cut, he said, the defence budget should be increased by NIS 150 million. Rabin said the army could not afford to make any further cuts in equipment procurement or in its size.

Both Peres and Ya'acobi oppose further cuts in the defence budget, and this makes such a step highly unlikely.

Also appearing before the budget committee were Absorption Minister Ya'acov Tsor, Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev and Transport Minister Haim Corfu. Except for Corfu, all the other ministers expressed opposition to the proposed budget cuts.

Support is growing within Labour to set up a committee of experts to revise the tax reform plan. This idea was raised by Histadrut chief Yisrael Kessar and received Ya'acobi's backing.

Ya'acobi hinted that not all Labour ministers were happy with the (Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)



Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Vice Premier Shimon Peres in a festive mood at yesterday's meeting of the ministerial committee on budget cuts. (Kahana/Media)

Histadrut closes ranks to fight reform plan

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN and SIMON LOUISON
TEL AVIV. — The Histadrut rallied its forces at a meeting here yesterday, when 400 representatives of dozens of unions and interest groups slammed the Treasury's economic reform plan.

Meanwhile, the country's industrialists did an about-face, telling Prime Minister Shamir that they would lend tentative support to the reform package they had condemned earlier in the week.

Although the Histadrut leaders' statements at the rally were the most radical they have made on the plan, no decision was taken on immediate action.

This may have been in order to give the government a chance to invite the Histadrut to join talks on the plan's amendment.

"The economic plan is shrouded

in more secrecy than the Vanunu affair," said Trade Union Department chairman Haim Haberfeld, who hosted the meeting. "[Nissim] is the most dangerous finance minister since 1977," he said.

The manufacturers stood behind the reform package, following a meeting yesterday between Shamir and a coordinating committee of economic bodies. The committee included manufacturers, chambers of commerce, contractors and agricultural producers.

Analysts believe the volte-face came about because of a hint from Shamir that the manufacturers' main objections would be heard by the ministerial committee reviewing the plan. Even more significant was a suggestion that the government would take action to alleviate exporters' problems stemming from the (Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

THE SCENE STAGE & SCREEN

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THE JERUSALEM POST

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The Emunah Movement wishes to announce that

it will not participate in the first international conference

on women and Judaism: WOMEN AND THE HALACHA which will open on December 28.

EMUNAH, National Religious Women's Movement

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The weather at major Swissair destinations

25.12.86

	MIN.	MAX.	WIND	WIND DIR.	WIND SPEED	WIND DIR.	WIND SPEED
AMSTERDAM	-4	14	4	3	10	10	10
BRUSSELS	-4	14	4	3	10	10	10
BUENOS AIRES	1	23	4	3	10	10	10
CHICAGO	1	23	4	3	10	10	10
COPENHAGEN	-3	26	8	3	10	10	10
FRANKFURT	-10	14	1	3	10	10	10
GENOVA	-18	14	1	3	10	10	10
HELSINKI	-18	14	1	3	10	10	10
HONGKONG	18	24	3	3	10	10	10
JERUSALEM	14	27	3	3	10	10	10
LISBON	3	27	3	3	10	10	10
LONDON	1	27	3	3	10	10	10
MADRID	-1	28	3	3	10	10	10
MONTREAL	1	28	3	3	10	10	10
NEW YORK	1	28	3	3	10	10	10
OSLO	-18	3	1	3	10	10	10
PARIS	3	27	3	3	10	10	10
RIO DE JANEIRO	18	24	3	3	10	10	10
SAO PAULO	18	24	3	3	10	10	10
STOCKHOLM	-1	28	3	3	10	10	10
TOKYO	7	26	3	3	10	10	10
TORONTO	2	26	3	3	10	10	10
VIENNA	-1	28	3	3	10	10	10
ZURICH	-1	28	3	3	10	10	10

*For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair.

THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy, with rain beginning tonight. Tomorrow: stormy and rainy.

	Yesterday's	Today's	Max	Min
Jerusalem	38	17-20	17	17
Golan	33	7-19	16	16
Nahariya	30	12-17	18	18
Safed	30	12-17	18	18
Haifa Port	56	11-20	18	18
Tiberias	49	12-20	18	18
Nazareth	37	6-22	21	21
Afula	38	9-21	19	19
Sharon	30	10-22	20	20
Tel Aviv	46	7-23	21	21
B-G Airport	52	7-22	21	21
Jericho	53	11-24	22	22
Gaza	52	9-24	22	22
Beersheva	53	12-24	24	24
Eilat	53	12-24	24	24

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

At a meeting this week chaired by Raya Jaglom, president of World Wizo, Jewish Agency Aliya Department chairman Haim Aharoni addressed the World Wizo and Israel Wizo Executive on the agency's plans for encouraging aliya from South Africa and the part that Wizo can play in this process.

80th birthday congratulations to Mr. Herman Rudolf from children Perry, Beth, Judy and Debbie, and 14 grandchildren.

Marriage

Lisa, daughter of Lorna and Asher Kahn, and Ralph, son of the late Freda and Jack Amelson on Wednesday, December 24, 1986.

ARRIVALS

Mrs. Renée Solovitz, honorary national president, Mrs. Daisy Berman, national treasurer, and Mrs. Edith Agus, financial secretary, on Amit Women's business.

Herzog to lead fight against drug abuse

By JUDY SIEGEL
President Herzog is to convene a panel of experts to discuss ways of fighting drug abuse among young people. It was announced yesterday. According to the Beit Hanassi spokesman, Herzog is "very concerned" about police statistics released last week that show increased drug abuse among young adults and teenagers. Police believe that hard drugs—particularly "crack," a cheap but deadly form of cocaine—are becoming fashionable among middle-class youths here. The study day, scheduled for February 24 at Beit Hanassi, will be attended by representatives of the IDF, the police, the Education and Health Ministries, youth movements, local authorities and the media.

HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

Begun feared gravely ill in Chistopol

Hundred refuseniks in Moscow hunger strike

By LEA LEVAVI
Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV.—Ninety per cent of the 400,000 refuseniks in the Soviet Union will be ineligible for emigration under a new Soviet law because they do not have close relatives here, Natan Sharansky told a gathering in the lobby of the Tel Aviv Hilton yesterday.

After speaking by phone for about a quarter of an hour to three refuseniks in Moscow, Sharansky said they shared his fear about the new law. They reported that about a hundred refuseniks Wednesday participated in a hunger strike in Moscow on behalf of Prisoners of Zion.

Historian Martin Gilbert read a

message from Ida Nudel urging everyone, when lighting their Hanukkah candles, to "remember those who are so far away— isolated by distance and hardships."

Twelve candles, for 12 Prisoners of Zion, were lit by the 12-year-old daughter of a refusenik. She expressed the hope that her father would be here next Hanukkah.

On Sunday night, a rally for Soviet Jewry will be held at the Jerusalem Theatre. Prime Minister Shamir, Foreign Minister Peres and Sephardi Chief Rabbi Mordechai Eliahu will be among the eight Israelis who will light torches.

Similar rallies are being held in the

U.S., Australia, South Africa and Brazil. Meanwhile, Soviet dissident Yosef Begun, jailed in Chistopol Prison where Soviet dissident Anatoly Marchenko died recently, is feared to be in very poor health. His wife told Agence France Presse that her husband, who was arrested in 1982 and sentenced a year later to seven years in jail for anti-Soviet activities, has had no direct contact with his family since she visited him in jail last August. She last received a letter from him in November, when he said doctors had put him on a special diet. "I am afraid that means his health is deteriorating," she said.

Islamic Jihad—most extreme among the fundamentalists

Jerusalem Post Reporter
The Islamic Jihad is considered the most radical of several Islamic fundamentalist groups operating in Gaza.

It serves as an umbrella organization for several groups that are linked by a common belief that the success of the Islamic revolution is the top priority and that it can only be brought about through the immediate declaration of Jihad (holy war).

In Gaza the group operates against Israeli settlers, who yesterday sent a message of congratulation to the security forces for apprehending the terror cell believed responsible for the recent killing.

Four of the main streams of the Islamic fundamentalist movement in the Middle East are aligned with the Ayatollah Khomeini, and one group was responsible for the assassination of Egypt's former president Anwar Sadat.

The oldest group is the Moslem Brotherhood, which has been active in Gaza and Arab countries, especially Egypt. Some 1,200 activists belong to the group in the Gaza Strip where in 1979 they received legal recognition from the Civil Administration.

The spiritual leader of the Moslem Brotherhood—a very influential and extremist group—is Hassan Yassin, a

blind and handicapped man who was imprisoned for terrorist activity but released in the prisoner exchange that saw 1,150 terrorists released.

The leader of another local group, Majma'a, is Ibrahim Yazari, who is feared by local residents for his violent enforcement of fundamentalist practices. He punishes those who hold wedding celebrations where men and women mix, and those who do not wear traditional Moslem garb in public. A cafe that sold hard liquor and a store that sold video cassettes were vandalized by his men.

A Khomeini group split off the Majma'a some six years ago, and continued under the umbrella of the Islamic Jihad.

PLO dissident plans West Bank newspaper

AMMAN (AP).—The leader of a breakaway PLO faction says he hopes to obtain permission to set up a newspaper in the West Bank. "Our representative in the West Bank is trying to obtain a permit to open a bulletin...a newspaper," Atallah Atallah told reporters late Monday night.

Atallah, also known as Abul-Zaim, is leading a conservative revolt against PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, advocating stronger cooperation with Jordan and more efforts for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

He denied reports that he planned to open a formal office there, saying the Israelis would not permit it. But he said followers had held meetings, distributed materials and sought support.

On Wednesday night, he acknowledged that businessman Abed Muteleb Tahaboub, who "is not a member, but a supporter of our reformist movement," has opened an office in Hebron.

Atallah refused to name the representative seeking a newspaper permit, but he claimed that other PLO factions already were represented through Arabic Jerusalem papers such as *al-Badr*, *al-Kuds*, *al-Shaab*, and *al-Fajr*.

None of those papers, however, admits to having PLO ties, which would be illegal under Israeli laws. PLO officials have accused Jordan of financing and encouraging Atallah, whose movement came to public attention shortly after King Hussein broke off coordination attempts with Arafat.

Jordanian officials have denied any links, but Atallah could not run his office, distribute his newsletter, hold mass rallies or openly organize support groups without Jordanian consent. Officials privately say they permit him to operate among Jordan's majority Palestinian population in order to pressure Arafat towards positions closer to those of King Hussein.

Inspectors, police square off after cop car gets booted

TEL AVIV (Itim).—A fight broke out yesterday between Tel Aviv municipal inspectors and a policeman after the inspectors clamped a Denver Boot on an unmarked police car. Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahat said he would ask the police minister to investigate the incident.

The police and the municipality blamed each other for starting the fight. According to the police, the vehicle was parked opposite regional headquarters on Dizengoff Street, within view of the duty officer. The car bore civilian plates, but had a sign reading "Police vehicle on duty."

When two city inspectors clamped a boot on the car, the duty officer went out to tell them that the car was a police vehicle. But the inspectors did not believe him. They cursed him, and one of them attacked him with a two-way radio, police said. Later, inside the police station, the inspectors continued to hit the officer, according to the police.

In the city spokesman's version, the inspectors applied the boot to a private car. The duty officer demanded that they free the vehicle. When they said that they had to get permission to do so, the officer hit them. Some 20 policemen then gathered and beat and kicked the inspectors, the city said.

CAR LEVY

(Continued from Page One)
the possibility of taxing capital gains in the stock exchange, or of imposing a transactions tax on securities. Such taxes are supported by Peres, who

CAR LEVY

plans to raise the idea in the tax reform committee he mans with Nisim. Ya'acobi said that the idea of extending the levy on private cars for one year was raised by Rabin, and that he supported it too. He said that he supported the Treasury's plans to cut subsidies for basic commodities and public transportation by NIS 110m.

But he predicted that the cuts would fall short of the NIS 486m demanded by the Treasury. He said that feasible cuts amounted to only NIS 250m. To make up some of the difference, he proposed selling government corporations and raising purchase taxes by more than the amounts planned by the Treasury. The planned changes in purchase tax rates will bring in some NIS 60m. This additional revenue will partly offset the NIS 200m. loss from next week's reduction in customs.

High school marks

Jerusalem Post Staff
The system of combining class assessments with matriculation (bagrut) exam results to arrive at the final grades of high school pupils will not be abolished, Education Minister Yitzhak Navon said in the Knesset in answer to a parliamentary question.

Labour placates Weizman

By SARAH HONIG

Post Political Correspondent
TEL AVIV.—Ezer Weizman yesterday withdrew his day-old threat to sever ties with the Labour Party after being promised an early meeting with Vice Premier Shimon Peres and the implementation of the Labour-Yahad merger agreement.

Speaking to the Contractors' Association yesterday the Yahad leader said he had been given to understand that his grievances would be redressed as soon as possible by Labour.

Weizman also said he would be prepared to talk to PLO representatives if that organization accepted UN Resolutions 242 and 338.

Sources close to Weizman report that he has received promises that the merger and all other clauses in the agreement between Labour and Yahad would soon be carried out.

Weizman had earlier complained that Peres had not spoken with him in two months, and had given him no assignments. He also said the Foreign Ministry Political Director-General Yossi Beilin was stepping on the toes of the Ministry's director-general, Avraham Tamir, who is Weizman's close associate.

The merger agreement, which has raised opposition in Labour circles, guarantees safe slots for Yahad candidates on the Labour list as well as 6 per cent of the representation in all Labour institutions. Labour is also to foot the bill for the considerable debts incurred by Yahad in the last election.

Weizman said yesterday that he regretted having "to struggle to get the merger agreement ratified. Those who lived up to the rotation agreement should honour the agreement that made rotation and a Labour premiership possible."

Weizman told his audience that it was "high time Israel stopped waiting for an Arab phone call. If we continue to sit and wait, all we will get will be a bomb. It's time we dialled the Arabs."

Admitting that he had changed his political opinions, Weizman said: "Anyone who does not do so when conditions change is a big fat zero." He attacked the national unity government and blamed it for what he called "the stagnation" in the peace process.

Weizman added that there are "only four ministers in this entire government—Shamir, Peres, Nisim and Rabin. All the others are a sort of a parliament and the Knesset is no more than a House of Lords."

Bomb in Jerusalem causes minor damage

A small bomb planted near gas cylinders outside an apartment building in Jerusalem exploded yesterday evening. But no one was hurt, and only minor damage was caused. Four suspects were arrested. The bomb went off at 7:30 p.m. at 2, Hebron Road, on the outskirts of the Talpotei neighbourhood. A large force of police and Border Police searched the area for additional bombs. (Itim).

Benny Begin goes public with anti-Sharon drive

Jerusalem Post Staff

Binyamin Ze'ev Begin, the son of former premier Menachem Begin, went public with his anti-Sharon campaign this week when he said in an interview that the minister of industry and trade could harm Herut's electoral chances.

"Placing Ariel Sharon at the head of the Herut Party would not be a positive development, and may

harm its ability to recruit public support," Begin said in an interview published today in *Kol Ha'ir*, a Jerusalem local weekly.

During the past year, Begin has often attacked Sharon in internal party forums, *Kol Ha'ir* reported. It quotes party activists as saying that Binyamin Begin has called Sharon "lacking in morals" and "a lump on the back of Herut," and accused him of destroying his father's leadership.

POLLARD

(Continued from Page One)

its "hands-off" attitude towards the Pollards. There are strong indications that top Israeli leaders may even be prepared to enter into negotiations with the U.S. government in an effort to bring the Pollards to Israel and thereby avoid potentially lengthy prison sentences for them in the U.S.

The Israeli ambassador to the U.S., Meir Roseman, invited Pollard's parents, Dr. and Mrs. Morris Pollard of South Bend, Indiana, to the embassy in Washington to inform them that he would be prepared to discuss the case with them at any time. The ambassador's meeting with the parents was seen as a signal of a possible change in Israel's position. Dr. Pollard is an internationally renowned microbiologist at Notre Dame University.

Leon H. Charney, the well-known New York lawyer who is very close to several top Israeli political leaders, was approached by Dr. Pollard and Bernard Henderson, Anne Henderson—Pollard's father, about possibly getting involved in the case. He discussed the issues thoroughly with them.

Charney has also had a telephone conversation with Pollard's Washington lawyer, Richard A. Hibey. A decision by Charney to enter into the case would further signal the readiness of Israeli leaders to try to reach a political accommodation with the U.S. government over the fate of the Pollards.

Charney, in an interview, said: "Dr. Pollard and his wife and Mr. Henderson have spoken to me concerning what they believe to be the tragedy of the Jonathan and Anne Pollard case, and they have asked me to join Mr. Hibey as co-counsel in terms of trying to ameliorate some of the consequences that seem inevitable at this point. I have not made a commitment to the Pollards, but told them that I would do so within the next month based upon certain research that has to be done."

Charney recalled precedents involving American citizens spying for Britain and other friendly nations in 1939 and 1940 prior to America's joining the war and in violation of the U.S. neutrality act. "What we must keep in mind are the activities of Pollard," Charney said. "They involved a friendly nation—not one hostile to the U.S."

Asked whether a political deal was possible, Charney replied: "Probably that would be the only possible resolution short of their [being sentenced to] jail." Charney has just returned to New York from a two-month visit in Israel where he informally discussed the Pollard case with several Israeli leaders. He declined to elaborate.

After Pollard's arrest, then-prime minister Shimon Peres apologized to the U.S., explaining that the espionage operation was unauthorized. Israel then cooperated with U.S. authorities in the investigation, even making evidence against Pollard available to them.

Pollard maintained in an interview with *The Post* on November 21 that he was not spying against the U.S., and that the information he passed on to Israel involved only Arab threats facing Israel. By strengthening Israel, he said in that interview, he was also indirectly strengthening America since Israel is an ally.



An Arab merchant in Jerusalem's Old City yesterday holds up Hanukkiot for sale. (P. Tikliker, Media)

Hanukka begins tonight

By HAIM SHAPIRO

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Candles and oil lamps will shine in windows all over the country tonight as Jews begin celebrating Hanukka, the eight-day festival of lights.

The holiday, which marks the victory of the Maccabees over the Syrian-Greeks, the rededication of the Temple in Jerusalem, and the re-establishment at the time of an independent Jewish state, will be celebrated by the public lighting of a Hanukkah at the Western Wall in Jerusalem on all eight nights. The lighting, to take place on Saturday at 6 p.m. and on weekday evenings at 4:45, will be attended by both chief rabbis, Religious Affairs Minister Ze'evulun Hammer and ministry Director-General Ze'evulun Orlev.

On Sunday, the traditional Hanukkah torch will be carried from the tombs of the Maccabees at Modi'in to Beit Hanassi in Jerusalem, where President Herzog will light his Hanukkah with it. The torch, which will first be carried by Daniel

Brailovsky of Macabbi Haifa, is to leave Modi'in at 10 o'clock in the morning.

This year the president received Hanukkah greetings from six Soviet Jewish refuseniks, delivered by an American UJA activist who visited the Soviet Union. Refuseniks Lev and Tatiana Opshtitzer, Alexander Lerner, Vladimir and Marya Slepak and Yuli Kushnrovsky also sent Herzog a message in which they prayed that the candles lit in every Israeli home would mark the way for them to come home.

Schoolchildren yesterday held Hanukkah parties in their classrooms, before beginning a week-long holiday. Most businesses, however, will be open as usual.

The Society for the Protection of Nature is marking the holiday with a week of nature films at the Jerusalem Cinematheque, beginning on Sunday. Along with the films will be an exhibition of photos of birds and planes.

Vanunu: I was not beaten

By ASHER WALLFISH

Former nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu yesterday scotched a newspaper report alleging that his guards had beat him up for mucking them outside the Jerusalem District Court on Sunday.

Vanunu told his lawyer Amnon Zichroni that the *Yedioth Aharonot* report about his alleged beating was "not true."

The Hebrew daily wrote that the guards punished Vanunu after he passed waiting journalists and photographers a message on the palm of his hand through a police van window, about where and when the Israeli authorities allegedly picked him up to bring him back to Israel.

Zichroni said that the prison authorities had punished Vanunu for his misconduct by taking away all his

books, leaving him only with copies of the New and Old Testament. Zichroni said the prison authorities had also deprived his client of his regular newspaper and confiscated all the back copies. They also took away his transistor radio and told Vanunu the punishment would be in effect for one month.

Zichroni said that, at Vanunu's request, he would appeal to the district court against this punishment.

The lawyer added that although the prison authorities had last week given their permission for Vanunu's former American girlfriend, Judy Zimet, to come to Israel to visit him, that privilege had since been revoked. Zichroni said: "It was not the Prison Service that revoked it—other investigative bodies are responsible."

HISTADRUT

(Continued from Page One)

linked exchange rate.

Manufacturers' Association president Dov Lautman said he supported the plan in the interests of consensus; but he also told Shamir that a number of complementary steps were needed. These relate to problems over the exchange rate, and the desire of manufacturers to lower the costs of labour.

Shamir called on the Histadrut to change its stance in view of the economic bodies' support. A spokesman for the prime minister said the plan would be amended as a result of the deliberations of the two special committees set up to review it. He rejected the suggestion that the

government should have consulted the relevant sectors before the plan was made public, saying current negotiations were part of the "national process."

Shamir stressed to the group the urgent need for economic reform. He dismissed the impression given by some industrialists that the economy was operating satisfactorily and said the plan was "the last chance" to put things right.

The change in the manufacturers' position, although guarded, provided additional pressure on the Histadrut to support the reforms. Shamir hopes to meet Histadrut representatives to try to sway them, his spokesman said.

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Heinz Eppler President Ralph I. Goldman Exec. V. Pres. Michael Schneider JDC Rep. for Israel

and Staff

A year has passed since our beloved

Dr. ALEXANDER PAPP

Haifa was taken from us. We would like to express our thanks to all our friends and colleagues who comforted us on our bereavement personally or in writing.

His wife and all

EMUNAH WOMEN OF AMERICA 2nd BUILDERS' MISSION

December 25—January 1

PROGRAMME HIGHLIGHTS
Thursday evening: Pre-Hanukkah Party, Buffet Supper at the Emunah Women of America Community College. Meet with students and heads of schools.
Friday: Breakfast with Thomas Friedman of New York Times. Dinner with Rabbi & Mrs. Solomon Sharfman.
Shabbat evening: Candle lighting at the Kotel with Emunah. Special gathering to meet recent olim.
Sunday: Visit to Israel Aircraft Industries. Luncheon at Knesset with Minister Moshe Arens.
Monday: Visit Jossa Berger Emunah nursery at Eilat. Meet with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir.
Tuesday: Breakfast with Minister of Health—Shoshana Arbel-Almouino. Lunch with Chief of Staff—General Moshe Levy. Dinner—Minister of Religious Affairs—Zevulun Hammer. U.S. Ambassador—Thomas Pickering.
Wednesday: Breakfast with Mik Dan Mendor. Presentation of DAVID BARUSH STUDENT GARDEN at the Emunah Women of America Florence and Joseph Appleman School for Technical/Arts Education, 104 Derech Beit Lechem, Jerusalem. Guest Speaker: Dr. Menachem Stern of the Ministry of Education.
Evening: Festive Dinner with Minister of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister—Shimon Peres.

Emunah World

Iran launches dual offensive in south

BAHGDAD (AFP). — Iran launched a major two-pronged offensive along the southern front of the Gulf War late Wednesday. But Iraqi military authorities said here yesterday they had "completely wiped out" Iranian troops involved in the attack.

In Tehran, Iranian television said that 1,500 Iraqi soldiers had been killed and 4,500 wounded, with at least 100 Iraqi prisoners taken.

The offensive began along a 200 kilometre front stretching from the southern Iraqi port of Basra to the Faw peninsula, Baghdad said.

Military sources said the Iraqis were attacking from the east across the Shatt al-Arab waterway, which forms the border between the two countries, and up from the southern Iraqi port of Faw, which Iran occupied last February.

Both sides had been saying for some time that Iran was readying a major ground offensive. Iranian leaders promised "a decisive blow" in the war, now in its seventh year.

The Iraqi military command said its 3rd and 7th Division Army Corps backed by armoured units had been engaged in violent fighting to contain the Iranian offensive.

Recent Iranian offensives in the Gulf war have been aimed at isolating the southeast part of Iraq from the rest of the country, cutting off its sea supply routes.

Iraq's military high command was also silent on the situation in the Shatt al-Arab. Tehran said it had occupied four islands there including Om al-Rassas.

In Tehran, Iran's Islamic Republic News Agency (Irna) said two Iraqi fighter-bombers had been shot down on the southern front. Analysts said the use of Iraqi aviation indicated that the Iraqi Army was still handicapped by the heavy Iranian army presence in the region since its offensive 11 months ago.

Irna said that Iran had launched the offensive in reprisal for recent Iraqi air raids on "industrial and residential zones" in Iran.

Libya opens new front against Chad

N'DJAMENA (Reuters). — Libya has opened a new battle front in Chad's northern desert with the aim of encircling the Tibesti mountains, official Chadian sources said yesterday.

The military intervention represents an effort to prevent Chad President Hissene Habre from taking control of the Tibesti mountains, western diplomats in Tripoli said.

The sources said Libya's main objective was to maintain the mountain range as a buffer zone between pro-Libyan rebels and Chadian government forces.

The loss of Tibesti would be a serious military and diplomatic blow to Tripoli, which has sought over the past 10 years to secure its influence there after annexing the contested border Aozou strip.

The Tibesti area is the stronghold of former President Goukouni Oueddei, who has fallen out with his Libyan backers.



Andrei Sakharov and his wife Yelena shown in their Moscow apartment on Wednesday after their release from internal exile. On the bookcase in the background are pictures of their family members in the West and of Soviet dissidents. (Reuters telephoto)

Chirac thanks Assad for help with hostage

PARIS (AFP). — Released French hostage Aurel Cornea arrived in Paris from Cyprus aboard a French government aircraft yesterday after being released by the pro-Iranian Organization of Revolutionary Justice (ORJ).

He was greeted on arrival by French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac who telephoned Syrian President Hafez Assad on Wednesday to thank him for his role in obtaining the release.

Speaking at Orly Airport soon before Cornea's arrival, Chirac also thanked Algeria, Lebanon and "Palestinian officials" for their role in the Frenchman's release. He expressed hope that all hostages still held in "unacceptable conditions" would be released.

Cornea, a sound-engineer with French television, was transferred to Cyprus by Lebanese army helicopter

yesterday morning after spending the night at the home of the French military attaché in Beirut.

Cornea was kidnapped in West Beirut along with three other members of his crew on March 8 after they had filmed a meeting of Islamic fundamentalists.

On his arrival at Larnaca in Cyprus, he said he was "well", as was Jean-Louis Normandin, the remaining member of the crew still held in Lebanon. The other members of the team were freed last month.

Letters were received by AFP in Beirut yesterday from Marcel Caron, Marcel Fontaine and Jean-Paul Kautmann, three Frenchmen who have been held by the Islamic Jihad since spring 1985. The handwritten letters were addressed to the hostages' respective families. One other Frenchman, Michel Seurat, is believed to have been killed by his captors in Lebanon.

Libyan diplomat murdered in Lebanon

Unidentified gunmen yesterday shot and killed the Libyan embassy counsellor to Damascus, Mubashir Mohammed Ghuraibi, as he was travelling by car through Lebanon's Bekaa Valley.

In north Lebanon, Syrian troops raided villages in search of arms and people involved in last week's clashes between Syrian forces and Sunni Muslim fundamentalists.

Syrians in tanks and other military vehicles Wednesday raged 10 northern villages and set up roadblocks in the mountains east of Tripoli, 70 km. north of Beirut.

Scores of members of the fundamentalist Tawheed movement have been rounded up since Syria moved tanks into Tripoli last week after gunmen raked a Syrian checkpoint with gunfire.

China protests likely to boomerang

PEKING. — The student demonstrations for greater freedom in China may have the opposite effect and cause the government to clamp down, Western diplomats said here yesterday.

"If the demonstrations end now, the damage will be minimal. But it is obvious there will be heated arguments inside the Communist Party," one diplomat was quoted as saying.

The question is whether the students won't get exactly the opposite of what they are looking for — that is, less democracy and more authority, at a moment when promised political reforms are still in an embryonic stage," another diplomat said.

Diplomats said the student unrest could not have come at a worse time. They pointed out that the question of who will succeed Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping, 82, and other top officials is to be hammered out shortly between conservatives and reformists in the party.

"The natural reaction of those in power is to have order first," one diplomat said, recalling how Deng silenced the "Peking Spring" democracy movement in 1978-79.

"No doubt he would do it again," he added.

Threats of a crackdown by local authorities have apparently succeeded in Shanghai, while in Peking and elsewhere students have reason to fear such possible repercussions as job assignments in remote areas of China or even prison if the incidents worsen.

Tuesday night's march by 3,000 students in Peking, which followed

Shanghai students have given city officials until tomorrow to answer their demands concerning recent demonstrations. But they are divided over whether to take to the streets again.

Students at Tongji University said yesterday that their demands include greater press freedom, acknowledgement that their actions were legitimate and apologies from police.

The students, however, said their leaders were divided about whether to repeat the pro-democracy demonstrations that sent tens of thousands into Shanghai's streets earlier this week.

Two weeks of protests in Shanghai and other cities, gave a nationwide scope to incidents which, on at least two occasions, have questioned the legitimacy of the Communist system, the analysts said.

Last Thursday in Shanghai, on the eve of week-end demonstrations of up to 70,000 students and workers, one student in a crowd at the Communications University openly asked Mayor Jian Zemin if the Chinese people had ever endorsed the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

In Peking on Tuesday, students added "equality between the parties," to more familiar chants for democracy and respect for human rights. There are several so-called "democratic" parties in China, but their influence is marginal under the constitution which assigns the role of leadership to the Communist Party. Foreign Ministry officials said on

Tuesday, during a year-end reception for journalists, that no one could reverse China's current major undertakings, its "open door" policy and economic liberalization.

But behind such an optimistic facade lies prudence towards political reforms. As one official put it: "We now find ourselves before a river that we must absolutely cross — but in the face of such raging currents, we must reflect before committing ourselves and be sure we won't lose our footing."

China's student demonstrators apparently include free-lovers, freedom-seekers and people with concrete grievances but many are vague about democratic ideals, according to foreign students and teachers.

"The ideas of democracy excite them but they also realise it is not part of their culture," an American lecturer said.

The foreigners said the students in general were fairly disorganised, but divided roughly into three categories — the radical, the prudent and "those out for a good time."

Tight security at the universities prevented easy contact between Chinese students and foreign reporters, some of whom were escorted out of the campus.

A mixture of complaints surfaced in the remarks of students interviewed, including discontent about the cost of living, the quality of college canteen food, and anger at police who allegedly beat up boisterous students at a Shanghai pop concert. (Reuters, AP, AFP)

More miscarriages in women exposed to making computer chips

HUDSON, Massachusetts (AP). — Significantly more miscarriages have been found among women production workers at a semiconductor plant than those not exposed to processes used in making computer chips, a study has found.

In one principal area of production, the level of miscarriages was twice that of non-production workers, according to the University of Massachusetts' School of Public Health study commissioned by Digital Equipment Corp.

The finding, believed to be the first of its kind in the computer industry, has broad implications for the computer chip industry which employs more than 55,000 U.S. production workers. Most of them are believed to be women.

The study, which found no evidence of a wide range of other major health disorders such as birth defects and infertility, surveyed 744 of Digital's nearly 2,000 workers at the Hudson semiconductor plant. Of those

studied, 294 were production-line workers and the rest were non-production workers.

Based on the history of the workers at the plant for five years, the study was designed to measure a wide range of possible health problems among women and men. In all, 471 women were studied and 273 men.

Among the non-production workers, the study found that 18 per cent of the pregnancies resulted in miscarriages, similar to the general population.

But the incidence of miscarriages among production workers involved in what is known as photolithography, was 29 per cent.

A variety of solvents are used in the process which involves printing circuits on computer chips.

Among workers in a phase of production that uses acids in an etching process, researchers found a miscarriage rate of 39 per cent, twice that of the control group.

Soviets report deaths in mine disaster

MOSCOW (AP). — A methane gas explosion at a coal-mine in the Donetsk region of the southern Ukraine has caused loss of life, the Soviet news agency Tass reported.

Tass, quoting an announcement from the Communist Party's central committee and the government's Council of Ministers, gave no death total.

But Moscow analysts said the

wording of the announcement indicated there had been heavy casualties.

Tass said the accident happened on Wednesday at the Yasinovskaya-Glubokaya mine.

The relatively prompt reporting of the explosion reflected a recent Soviet policy to report accidents and national disasters. Such news was frequently suppressed in the past.

BBC hopes to launch world TV service

By DAVID HOROVITZ

Jerusalem Post Correspondent LONDON. — Six months and eight million pounds. That's all the BBC believes it would take to get a World Service TV station off and running. The Foreign Office is currently considering the BBC's proposal for a global TV news service — which envisages seven daily half-hour news and current affairs broadcasts, relayed by satellite to the far corners of the earth.

Announcing the BBC's plans for global news last week, Director-General Alasdair Milne spoke of a "service that will marry the editorial approach of Bush House (home of the World Service) and the professional and technical skills of Television News."

The experience of over 50 years of world news broadcasting, with a solid network of correspondents and stringers, translators and radio monitors, puts the BBC ahead of potential rivals in the field of global TV news. The men at the helm are anxious to ensure that this advantage is not frittered away by a procrastinating Foreign Office.

Milne, understating, expressed the hope that "the Foreign Office can give a reasonably speedy indication of its attitude towards finding funds so that the service can start as soon as possible."

Press officer Phil Bosley put it rather more bluntly: "If we don't get

moving soon, someone else will step in. And they'll do the job less well."

Bush House, says Bosley, is "as much an academic research institute as a broadcasting station. In this building, there is expertise in all fields — expertise that can easily be translated into TV terms."

Bosley shares news editor Terry Heron's belief that radio is a "cleaner" medium than television, one in which it is easier to maintain impartiality.

"But our TV service would make the same news judgements as does radio news," says Heron. "We wouldn't ignore a major story because we didn't have a piece of dramatic footage to go with it," he claims. Nor would we run a superb film report if it wasn't fully justified in the news sense."

Bosley admits that "we won't be able to just stick up a map and have a head reading the news in front of it. There will be different pressures. But these are pressures that we are in a better position than anyone else to cope with."

Bush House journalists are already teaming up with TV technicians to put together English-language world TV pilots — the service will initially broadcast only in English.

"Perhaps we'll use dubbing," says Bosley, "or more likely subtitles. But these are early days."

It is not yet possible for a London-

based TV station to broadcast directly into homes on the continent, so the service will have to be relayed either by cable or by national networks in the target countries.

"Presumably, we'd charge the domestic network in, say, India, an annual subscription rate for the service. They'd be free to screen it at whatever time, on whatever station suited them. There would have to be controls to ensure that reports were not inaccurately subtitled or dubbed by the domestic networks."

Bosley reports that there has been interest from all continents in the proposed service. "Europe is clearly a major market. South America less so. But even our initial service would certainly go out to all continents."

Bosley hopes that the service would expand into foreign languages as the demand grows.

John Tusa, managing director of the BBC's external broadcasting, believes that the BBC's reputation will ensure strong sales and low costs in the developed world. "But at the same time we must try to secure the greatest reach we can get in the developing world — and in closed societies too. All that is bound to entail an element of subsidy."

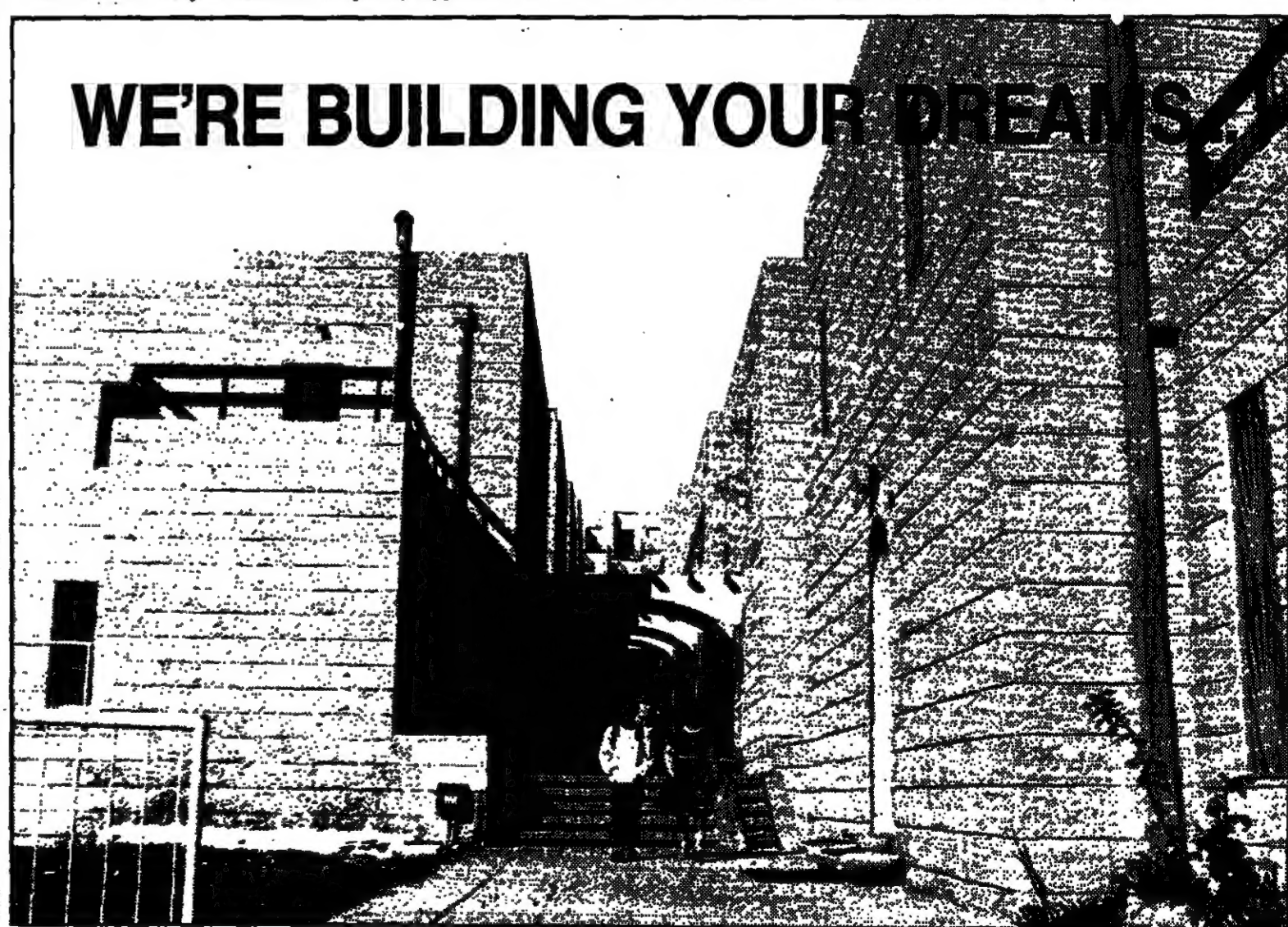
When direct broadcasting into the home becomes a reality, costs will fall, he adds. Until then, he estimates that an annual £8m. will keep the service operating.

The workings of the Foreign Office are often mysterious, but it does seem likely that the BBC's TV service will get the green light.

So where will that leave World Service radio?

"The future of radio is secure," says Heron. "The dawn of the TV age hasn't dented our listening figures — they're going up every year."

Bosley has the last word: "Radio reaches parts of the world that television and other media cannot. It remains the purest and most accessible news medium." (This is the last in a series of four articles.)



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Party interests retain hold on WZO 'shlihim' Rape — 'Castration is an ignorant solution'

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The changes in the shlichah (emissary) system announced this week by Aryeh Dulzin, chairman of the World Zionist Organization, were supposed to reflect the recommendations of the Landau Commission.

But Justice Moshe Landau and his committee members, whose report was submitted to Dulzin a year ago, cannot possibly be happy with what has come of their proposals.

While the measures approved by the WZO Executive cannot be dismissed as meaningless, and while they may improve the present situation, they are basically only elements in what Landau conceived as an integral structure.

What did the executive decide?

First, the emissaries to a particular country will henceforth constitute a "unified Zionist delegation." They will be subordinate to a single delegation head, one of whose main tasks will be the drafting of an annual work programme.

Second, the emissaries will be "multi-purpose." Whatever department they belong to — and there's the rub: they will still "belong to" a given department — the delegation chief can assign them other tasks. A teacher emissary, for instance, could be asked to organize lectures or discussions on aliyah or Zionism.

Third, the executive has formed a supreme committee on emissaries, consisting of the chairman and treasurer of the executive, five of its department heads, two public representatives who are members of the Zionist General Council, and two representatives of

youth movements.

But the recommendations that the executive has ignored are not only more numerous: many of them are of a more fundamental nature.

The Landau report called for an almost complete divorce of the emissaries from particular departments. The two education and culture departments, for example, could prepare materials for teacher emissaries, but they would have absolutely nothing to say about their hiring.

The departments, under the report, would get no budgets for emissaries, since the latter would be hired, after passing the present battery of tests, by the supreme committee, and be answerable to it.

"Every shlichah is ipso facto an aliyah shlichah," the report declared. Hence, there was no need for special aliyah emissaries. Aliyah promotion would be part of the job of the teacher emissaries, the youth movement emissaries, and the community emissaries.

Asked about this at his press conference on Tuesday, Dulzin endorsed the idea that every emissary is an aliyah emissary. That cost him nothing. But he thought that "it doesn't make sense" to stop sending special aliyah emissaries, since these were needed to process aliyah applications and to provide information to prospective olim.

But the Landau report has an answer to that too. It calls for the introduction of a data bank with reliable, up-to-date information on housing, employment, customs duties, and all the

other subjects of interest to potential olim. This data would be disseminated by the offices of the Zionist emissary delegations abroad, by Israel consulates, and by the Zionist federations in each country.

All this has been blithely disregarded. The supreme committee has approved a definition of the aliyah emissary's duties that reads in part: "He shall initiate social and cultural activities in which Israel's message will be presented, etc." After a few more sentences on the aliyah-promotion functions of the aliyah emissary, his processing tasks are listed: "[He is] the source of correct and precise information in all matters of interest to the potential olim, etc."

In rejecting the very concept of departmental emissaries, the Landau report implicitly called for the abolition of the chief departmental emissaries that are appointed today in the larger countries.

But the Zionist Executive chose to retain the departmental chiefs. "The delegation chief is the coordinator between the emissaries, through the instrumentality of the departmental representatives... [He] shall prepare, together with the various departmental representatives in the same place, a draft programme of Zionist activity... In case of a dispute between the delegation chief and any department... the subject will be submitted for a decision to the chairman or the treasurer of the executive, depending on the question at issue."

All of this clashes head-on with Landau's

idea of regional desks in a central emissary administration in Jerusalem that would work together with the delegation chiefs, thus replacing the departments in this respect.

The half-way house constructed by the executive seems to make conflict inevitable. The individual emissary, although answerable to the delegation chief, is in some departments required to submit reports to his department. The delegation chief, though officially answerable only to the supreme committee, may find it politic to compromise with the chief departmental emissary.

The political influence of the department heads in Jerusalem remains as strong as it has been. Which means that less qualified candidates with the right connections can still get emissary posts even if other candidates are better qualified.

When all is said and done, the fate of the wishy-washy reorganization adopted by the executive will be determined largely by the character and determination of the delegation chief in each country.

In any case, Landau and his fellow commission members are not naive do-gooders. They anticipated that the department heads and the political parties they represent would not readily relinquish the power their emissary budgets put in their hands.

The commission conjectured that its proposals would "encounter sharp opposition, with a hundred and one reasons being advanced by those vested interests that brought about the fragmentation of the emissaries among the departments in the first place."

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A recent statement by MK Uriel Lynn that recidivist rapists should be castrated has drawn the fire of two American experts on sexual offences.

Castration is an inappropriate "treatment," say Theron Weldy and Hila Jo Hawk, a husband-and-wife team who have been conducting therapeutic programmes in Arizona State Prison for the past six years.

The programme they researched, devised and tried out has drastically reduced the number of recidivist sex offenders in Arizona.

Weldy and Hawk are currently visiting their son and daughter in Israel. They have visited Ramle Prison and may meet Police Ministry officials to discuss their programme.

"There is a growing tendency in the U.S. to separate sex offenders from other prisoners," Hawk told

volunteer for the programme, so their motivation is high.

Certain sex-specific tests give the psychotherapists a reading on the patients' sex drives and their tendency for violence in seeking satisfaction.

Weldy and Hawk use a polythene-graph to assess their patients' responses. The polythene-graph, sometimes nicknamed, "Peter Meter," is attached to the offender's sexual organ while a computer measures his physical reaction to certain images, which are not necessarily erotic or pornographic. The patient is shown slides of children and adults, male and female. The patient's involuntary physical reaction is then compared with his rational, voluntary response to verbal questions.

Israeli sex therapists have heard of the polythene-graph, but it is not

Did you know that in the United States:

- One girl in four and one boy in six will be sexually molested?
- By 1990, one adult woman in 10 will be raped during her lifetime?
- Over 70 per cent of all adult women treated for clinical depression have been raped or sexually abused?
- 65 per cent of all alcohol and drug abusers, male and female, have been sexually abused?
- Approximately one sex offender in 10 is apprehended; and of those who are prosecuted, less than 2 per cent are incarcerated?

The Jerusalem Post. "This enables a more concentrated treatment of their problems."

In Israel, sex offenders are not separated from other criminals and receive no treatment during their imprisonment. It is not known what the recidivist rate is for these offenders.

"Every now and then you get someone ignorant on the subject, who suggests castration," Hawk said. "They don't realize that rape is not primarily a sexual act, and that not all sexual assaults involve penile penetration."

Sexual assault, according to Hawk, is an act of anger or power over someone else.

The couple's programme focuses on changing behavioural patterns. Treatment involves an integrated behavioural and educational therapy approach over an 18-month period, and includes individual, group and partner therapy. The participants all

used here.

The therapists help the patients understand how they use sex to fulfill their needs and how their behaviour patterns were formed. "If they felt rejected or unloved as children, we trace the development of their behavioural pattern for getting attention and affection, and how it led to sex offences. Finally, we provide them with other ways of fulfilling their needs," says Weldy. "A six-year-old boy who is angry may cry or run from the room or hide. In adulthood, this may be expressed in alcoholism. If there is a pattern of female dominance, this child may later use sex to express his anger."

Speaking with Prisons Authority officials, Weldy and Hawk learned that there is no budget to run a similar programme here. They believe that if enough sex-offenders were concentrated in one jail, it would be cheaper and easier to treat them.

Poll: Most Israelis blame provocative dress

By LEA LEVAVI

More than 50 per cent of Israelis still believe that women "invite" rape by their dress and appearance, according to a survey recently carried out for Na'amat by the Dahaf Institute.

One question asked which of four women — a young woman dressed provocatively, a young woman dressed modestly, an older woman or a prostitute — was most likely to be raped if she walked alone on a dark street at night. Only 40 per cent answered correctly that all are equally at risk since the rapist could not see his victim in the dark anyway. According to 43 per cent of those polled, the young woman dressed daringly was most likely to be raped, 4 per cent selected the modestly dressed young woman and 9 per cent selected the prostitute.

In answer to another question, 56 per cent said women "invited" rape by dressing provocatively, acting freely with men, or accepting an invitation to a man's home.

A third of the public believe that a woman can resist the rapist and that, therefore, women who are raped haven't done enough to prevent the crime. This view is still held though resisted rape attempts have ended in murder.

At a recent gathering at Beit Les-

sin, Na'amat secretary-general

Masha Lubelsky publicized these and other survey findings.

Dr. Moshe Izak, a psychiatrist at Shaare Zedek Hospital and an authority on rape, told the audience that rapists are normal men from a violent subculture who are used to taking by force what isn't given to them voluntarily.

He advised women not to resist rape unless they were trained in self-defence. He suggested that women resist rapists by disgusting them with vomit or other bodily excretions.

Twenty-five per cent of the survey's respondents recommended castration of convicted rapists. But Izak did not think this would be effective, noting that in countries where it has been tried, it has not led to a drop in the incidence of rape.

"As long as ignorance and stereotypes persist, women will continue to feel guilty and hesitate to go to the police," Lubelsky said, calling for increased public education about rape. It is believed that only 20 per cent of the victims of rape, attempted rape and other sexual offences turn to the police.

He sees the glamour

Ivan Schwebel — who lives on a mountain in Ein Karen, Jerusalem; pitched two no-bitters in the same week more than 20 years ago and lost both games; served in Korea and began painting in Japan — sees Greta Garbo and John Gilbert kissing on the streets of this city.

He whispers "love is in the air," as he strides the streets of the city, suspenders holding up his khaki trousers.

He slips into movie theatres and doesn't think of Hopper's lonely usherette. Instead, he dreams of there one day being such mysterious luxury in Jerusalem.

He sees glistening lights reflected in the pale foam of the tall glasses of

range in the basement of Dizengoff Centre, sees romance where others see the need for redevelopment.

He looks at old buildings and sees Rita Hayworth posing, he sees a traffic jam in an industrial zone and sees Buster Keaton trying to pick up a nice Jewish girl reading the Yiddish Forward. He sees the beach and fancies himself heroically raising a clenched fist, shaking it at a world of doubters who question the idea of glamour in a city of crumbling plaster and peeling paint, of sloppy kiosks and sticky countered cafes.

He is a lover of the city, and sees lovers wherever he looks in the city. That's what his paintings are about. He calls the movie stars "perfect Tel Avivians of another era."

Maybe it takes an outsider to see the romance in the kitschy lampposts and foolishly monolithic hotels. Maybe only an outsider can find romance in the old movie theatres, in the weirdly shaped hilltop building that overlooks the terrible traffic jam at the eastern gateway to the Central Bus Station.

The early painters of Jaffa and Tel Aviv were also romantic; they, too, were outsiders, new arrivals in a land they first imagined and only afterwards saw.

Earlier this year, Tel Aviv Museum had a huge show called something like the Poverty of Material, supposedly dealing with the contemporary artistic vision of the city.

Many of the "works" — nowadays, artistic objects are referred to as "works" and not as "paintings" or "sculptures" — were done on warped



"Shall We Dance? Entrance to the Carmel Market", a painting by Ivan Schwebel.

(from "Tel Aviv, Tel Aviv", Schwebel, Modan Publishing House Ltd.)

plywood, scrawled upon with pencils. The idea behind the exhibition was to show the relationship between the poverty of materials and techniques used by local artists.

Most of the "works" were done by artists raised in Israel. There were not many romantic images. There were lots of greys and depictions of barbed wire, dark concepts and anguished concepts.

Of course, Schwebel's paintings,

large canvasses stroked heavy with deep colour, were not shown at that exhibition. He's considered an "American painter," maybe because he paints richly, with no sign of poverty of material, technique or imagination.

It may indeed be that he's an American painter. He is from New York, and does prefer the Mets to Maccabi. And he believes in a heroic and very individualistic imagination,

which often leads him straight into fistful trouble when he has to deal with the group consciousness of the local art world.

But it is this city, and Jerusalem, that he paints. And he does it with as much love as any of those Europeans who stepped off the boats in Jaffa 50 or more years ago.

Their paintings, by the way, are in the museum, because they are history.

An honest attempt to keep government for the people

By DVORAH GETZLER

Post Knesset Reporter

When Israelis have a grievance against the government, it's the ache in their pocket that is the most likely to spur them into approaching the ombudsman.

Of the 3,291 complaints lodged against ministries, Bezak, the National Insurance Institute, the Broadcasting Authority and the Israel Lands Administration between September 1985 and October '86, the Treasury racked up the most — 575. The NII registered 391 and

Bezak 378. Other bodies in the ombudsman's purview brought the number of complaints to over 5,600.

The statistics are in the ombudsman's latest annual report (the 15th), which was submitted to the Knesset this week. Behind the dry figures lies the story, told in human terms, of the honest attempt to ensure that public bodies do not lose sight of their obligation to serve the citizen.

Ombudsman Yitzhak Tunik, who is also the state comptroller, sees prevention as an important aspect of

his work. The treatment of several cases cited in the report was aimed at both rectifying the specific abuse, and establishing norms to ensure that similar abuses did not recur.

Thus, a Jerusalem lawyer, who — under widely publicized arrangement — had issued a post-dated Post Office Bank cheque to cover his VAT payment, was very aggrieved the find that the VAT authorities had impounded his tape recorder while he was on holiday abroad. The cheque had been presented for payment ahead of time, the Post Office Bank had therefore refused to honour it, and the VAT office had responded by seizing the tape recorder.

To free the tape recorder, the lawyer's brother had to pay the original debt, interest, and an additional charge — a total of NIS 74. Worse, the treatment he received from the

VAT authorities was brusque and obstinate.

The ombudsman's intervention brought the lawyer a cheque for NIS 48 (interest, plus linkage, plus return of the fine), an apology, and monetary compensation for the aggravation caused. But, perhaps more important, the VAT authorities have acted to ensure that that sort of mistake will not happen again.

The Health Ministry, too, has been responsive to the ombudsman's probing, and has instructed hospitals to repeat ultra-sound examinations whenever an operation based on such a check must be postponed.

The instruction stems from the case of a man who had an apparently needless open-heart operation following the discovery — in an ultra-sound examination — of a blood clot or growth.

The operation was delayed by a

fortnight, at the patient's request. During surgery it emerged that the clot or growth had disappeared. Had a second check been made, immediately before surgery, no operation would have been necessary.

More than half the complaints — 58.7 per cent — dealt with over the 1985/86 period were found to be unjustified.

One such case concerns a sculptor asked by the Israel Broadcasting Authority to produce statues for prizes for a song festival in 1982. When he was asked for more of the same sculptures in 1985, negotiations broke down over the price. The IBA then had the statues copied by a workshop for far less (the sculptor had refused an offer that was three-and-a-half times the price paid to the workshop). When the sculptor found that his statues had been copied without his permission he sought the ombudsman's help.

But under IBA regulations, the authority owns the copyright on any work it commissions, unless a contrary agreement is made. There had been no such agreement with the sculptor. And the ombudsman found his complaint unjustified. But he ordered the IBA to make its rules known to outsiders in future.

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— Tuesday, December 30, 1986.
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Chemical war: IDF can cope

The Post's Defence Correspondent, Hirsh Goodman, discusses the threat posed by the Syrian acquisition of poison-gas weaponry

MORE AND MORE in recent weeks the public has been confronted with the uncomfortable fact that two of its most implacable foes - Syria and Iraq - possess advanced chemical-warfare capabilities. Just how seriously Israel takes this development is becoming increasingly evident in the number of civil defence exercises being conducted and the high priority the IDF has placed on anti-gas defences, as displayed in recent maneuvers.

An excellent BBC *Panorama* documentary on Iraq's gas warfare capabilities referred to chemical weapons as "the poor man's atomic bomb," because they threaten civilian populations as much as they do soldiers in the field. The programme, and an advance article by Herb Krosney (*The Jerusalem Post*, November 24) made it clear that both the Iraqis and the Syrians were capable of producing some of the most toxic gases known to man. Subsequent reports from abroad, confirmed by Israel defence officials, added that the Syrians already possess the missiles to deliver toxic gas to virtually almost every square centimetre of populated Israel.

That these developments have to be taken seriously is a truism. But there is no reason for hysteria. Despite the analogy between chemical and nuclear weapons, there are vast differences, the main one being that it is relatively easy to defend oneself against gas; it is impossible to do the

same against a nuclear strike. It is one thing for the Syrians to possess the capability to produce and deliver toxic gases; it is quite another for them to use them, especially against civilian populations.

IDEALLY, ONE suspects, the best way to neutralize the threat of chemical warfare is by deterrence. Whether Israel has atomic capabilities or not is still not known, despite the Vanunu claims. The Syrians, however, have to assume that Israel does have the bomb. They also have to assume that if Israeli civilian centres are attacked, as has been demonstrated consistently in the past (as in 1973, when Israel responded to a Frog missile attack on Tiberias with a lightning raid against downtown Damascus), Syrian cities will not be spared a response.

The likelihood of gas being used as a strategic weapon in any future conflict seems slight, though there are clear limitations to the power of deterrence. The Syrians, for example, have a much lower sensitivity to casualties, including civilian casualties, than does Israel. They also may not believe that in a bilateral encounter, Israel would risk mass retaliation against the Syrian heartland, an act that would almost certainly bring other Arab states into the conflict.

The Syrians could also, with some degree of safety, assume that the Soviet Union



would not remain aloof while its main and most faithful ally in the Middle East was pulverized - another factor that places a question mark over the airightness of Israel's deterrence against the use of gas.

WHETHER deterrence is viable or not is of secondary importance to those in the Israel defence establishment who have been charged with working out measures against the possibility that, as the result of some unpredictable act of desperation, Syria does decide to use its doomsday weapon.

These measures include educational programmes in schools; the equipping of almost the entire population with gas masks; civil defence exercises for simulated gas attacks, like the recent major exercise in Haifa; military maneuvers with simulated gas attacks; rendering motorized armour such as tanks and personnel carriers capable of sustaining crews in toxic environments. Literature on how to make one's home safe and how to deal with persons who have been affected by gas has also contributed to limiting the effects of the weapon.

If adequate warning is given to an educated public, according to the experts, the result of a toxic weapon attack would be minimal. Unlike other weapons, gas does not affect the environment permanently. Almost every dwelling can, with little effort, be made safe from the consequences of gas. Although the detoxification process is a long one, it will allow a return to normal life after the attack.

On the battlefield too, poison gas is no longer the devil it used to be. Today's armies are well prepared not only to protect themselves in a gas environment, but to continue fighting effectively as well. Moreover, in the Syrian-Israeli context, it will not neutralize or threaten in any way the Israeli air force, Israel's primary response to the Syrians, and the main threat to Syria's armies.

Not only is gas an increasingly inefficient weapon; it has become an increasingly dangerous one for the user. Gas will travel with the wind, potentially threatening one's own advance forces and will pollute the

path of advance as well. The use of gas will automatically escalate any conflict into a war of strategic dimensions - something the Syrians could not possibly want within the context of a limited war on the Golan, for example.

Given the limitations of the effective use of gas as a weapon, why have the Syrians invested so heavily in chemical weapons these past years?

There is no question in the minds of analysts that there is a direct link between Syria's decision and the use of poison gas with relative impunity and without international censure by Iraq during the six years of the Iraq-Iran war.

Chemical weapons may also be a response to the growing number of indications, even before Vanunu, of Israel's nuclear capabilities, the possession of toxic gases and the ability to deliver them to Israel population centres providing the Syrians with an insurance policy of sorts against this potential threat.

They also provide the Syrians with an inferred deterrent against massive Israeli strikes against civilian or strategic targets. This was Israel's strategy during the war of attrition with the Egyptians following the Six Day War.

Despite the limitations, another incentive for the Syrians is that chemical weapons are cheap, easy to produce and relatively easy to deliver. Chemicals, as was demonstrated by *Panorama*, are readily available on the international market, the sheer number of producers and different chemicals involved making effective policing impossible. The process requires minimal technical knowledge and the manufacturing equipment is available on the open market.

Chemical weapons were therefore logical ones for the Syrians to concentrate on. They already possessed the missile and artillery technology to deliver them, and manufacturing them was only a question of minimal investment of resources and time. In return, Syria has got Israel worried and at the same time acquired weapons that will have to be taken into account by Israeli strategists as the next war unfolds.

Guns or butter (continued)

Hirsh Goodman on the pros and cons of proposals for trimming the defence budget further

EACH WINTER, with greater predictability than the rain, comes the great defence budget debate. As predictable are the positions taken by the sides: the Finance Ministry saying that there is still "fat" that can go; the Defence Ministry claiming that the bone has been reached.

This year, however, as one calls on officials involved in the decision-making process, one detects a new nuance. There is a consensus that the bone has in fact been reached; that the Israel Defence Forces are in genuine danger of seriously losing ground in the battle to maintain supremacy in the qualitative arms race.

Almost a decade of consistent whittling down of the defence budget, while no doubt a crucial factor in this country's economic situation, has had its consequences.

It has become harder to keep good young officers in the services, especially technical people who have preferred the better salaries outside the IDF. Our pilots are training with less flying hours than those in enemy countries. The navy's crucial modernization programme is on ice.

Crucial military industries are sacking their staff, including some of the best men, who have been laid off because of the cancellation of long-range research projects. The standing army has been cut down in size; and the reserves - which constitute a considerable proportion of Israel's armed potential - are getting much less frequent training than military planners would like.

THIS IS NOT being stated either to alarm, or to parrot the military's arguments for more money. It represents the thinking of defence analysts, military and civilian.

One has only to read the headlines to appreciate the veracity of their analysis. The facts simply cannot be hidden, and this time, as opposed to past battles, even the Treasury is not making light of the consequences of yet another blow to Israel's ability to defend itself.

Let us take just one of the many statistics with which Treasury officials cannot argue: that while the IDF has, for the past eight years, suffered the heaviest defence-budget cuts since the inception of the state, the confrontation states have, since 1973, spent \$94.6 billion on weapons and have another \$21 billion in the pipeline.

What has been fortunate for Israel is that this has occurred at an unre-

cedentedly good time from the strategic perspective.

The Arab world is split by the Iraq-Iran war; Israel is at peace with Egypt; there is no military threat on the Jordanian border; the Lebanese border is quieter than it has been in 20 years; the price of oil has dropped, with dramatic consequences; the West has solidified its position on terrorism; and Israel's relationship with the U.S. has, notwithstanding current problems, never been better.

The strategic equation has been balanced further by revelations about Israel's alleged nuclear capabilities (whether true or not, this is something that has to be taken into account by Israel's enemies), and by a consistent display of innovative high-technology, from both defence and private sectors, that have allowed Israel to even the odds.

THE CONSENSUS that there has been a serious erosion of Israel's deterrent posture does not mean, however, that there is agreement that the defence budget should not be cut.

The Treasury continues to insist on a NIS 180 million reduction (down from an original demand for NIS 270m.), and has the support of some ministers, though there are differences over the size of the cut. The Defence Ministry, for its part, is demanding a NIS 400m. increase over the current NIS 7,336m., this figure including \$1.8m. in American military aid.

Furthermore, while the Treasury insists that the 1987 budget be a nominal one (i.e., unlinked), the Defence Ministry is insisting on full linkage to the cost-of-living index.

"If there is inflation of just 10 per cent next year," one ministry official said, "we lose NIS 400 million - more than the entire increase we're asking for."

In addition, defence officials talk of "at least NIS 100m." in hidden costs resulting from the implementation of the wider aspects of the economic plan.

The proposed cancellation of reductions and exemptions for the disabled, widowed, active servicemen and civilian defence employees that

the Defence Ministry will have to absorb will cost around NIS 70m. The cancellation of a 0.1 per cent National Insurance contribution to the civil defence organization will mean an annual loss of another NIS 15m.; with other items, the total will exceed NIS 100m.

ON THE OTHER side of the fence, those in favour of curbing the defence budget point out that the cost of one fully-armed F-15, including pilot training, is the equivalent of the entire cost of the free education programme for the 12th grade, and that one plane less is a smaller danger to Israel's security than an ill-qualified next generation.

They point, too, to "ostentatious" defence spending in recent years, citing the multi-storey building going up in Tel Aviv for an ever-expanding defence bureaucracy and the reports of plush new offices for the defence minister and many senior officers.

Many question the legitimacy of the Lavi fighter project, and point to the advantages of the alternative fighter the Pentagon is expected to propose next month.

They also claim that the currently advantageous strategic situation will continue for at least the next decade.

Even if the Iraq-Iran war ends, both nations will be concerned with healing their own wounds before becoming involved in a new military adventure against Israel.

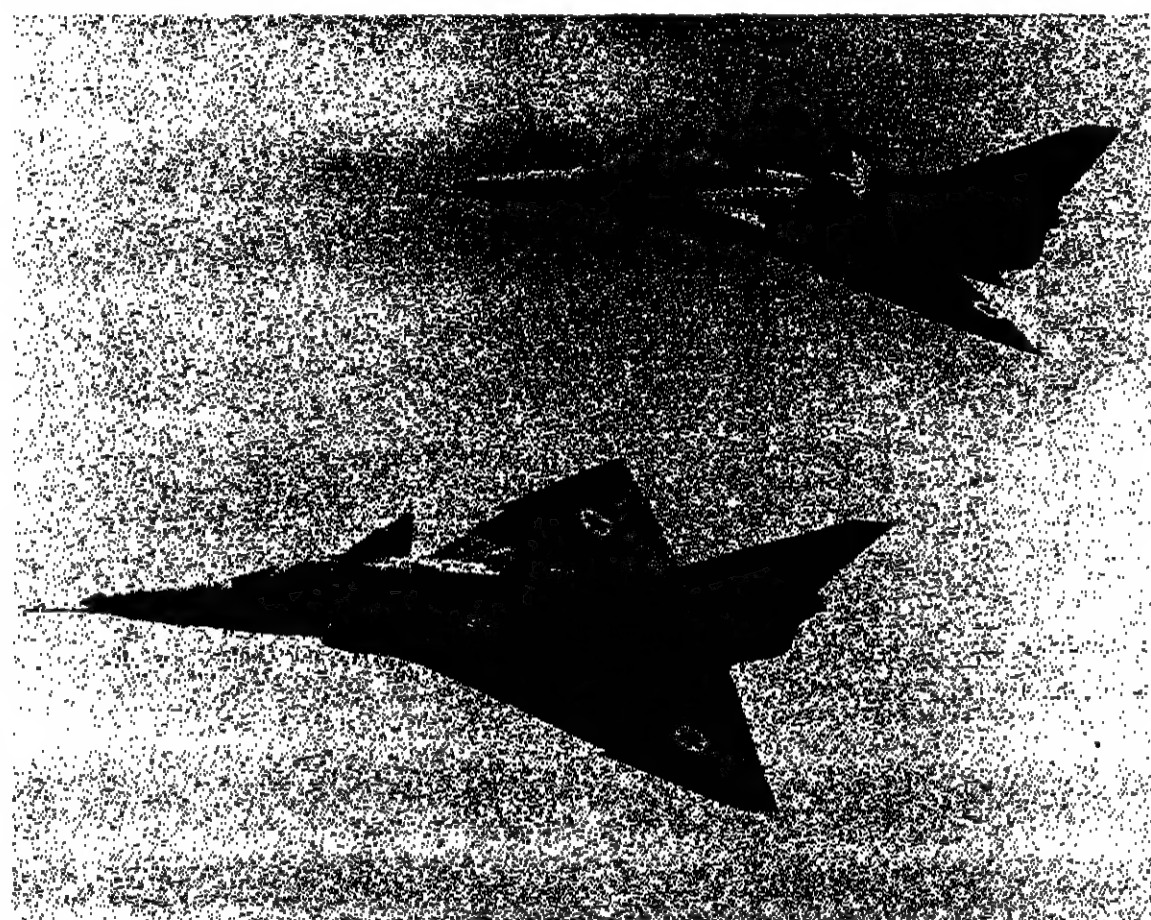
No major changes are expected in Egypt and Jordan, and even if King Hussein or President Mubarak leaves the seat of power, an orderly transition is more likely than radical change.

Given all these conditions, say the pundits, Israel can afford to take risks vis-a-vis the enemy in order to consolidate itself internally.

Defence officials counter these arguments by saying that the future is being mortgaged by politicians interested only in the present. Long-range projects have been cancelled or frozen, leaving the next generation less well equipped to deal with the challenges they will face.

Israel's primary strategic need - to confine any war to enemy territory, and ensure that the war is a quick one with minimal casualties, will also ultimately be jeopardized.

DESPITE THE weighty issues under discussion, the solution will probably be less dramatic, the experts predicting "symbolic" cuts to the defence budget. It is almost certain that no overt increase will be granted, though some adjustments will be made, such as special allowances for fluctuation of the dollar, especially if the shekel continues to rise in real value in relation to the



dollar - the currency on which most defence-related calculations are based.

The Treasury will also probably find a discreet way around the hidden costs, and undertake to cause minimal damage to the defence in-

dustries. Whether this compromise will ultimately benefit the economy or do significant damage to the country's defence posture remains to be seen. What is clear, though, is that this will not be the last time we shall witness

the dilemma of guns or butter.

After all, what else can be expected in a country that uses up some 40 per cent of its budget on its defence? No debate at all would be as disturbing as it would be unnatural.

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Hanukka, like the traditional dreidel, has many sides. For some the festival marks chiefly the miracle of the oil in the Temple, while others emphasize the Jewish national war of liberation led by Mattathias and his sons. Orthodox, liberal and secular Jews offer different interpretations. A fourth writer says the victory had vital implications for Western civilization. For all Jews, however, Hanukka is a time for joy.

A symbol of freedom and education

Shlomo Riskin

HANUKKA has usually been deemed a facile, even innocuous holiday. Candles are lit, a minimum of blessings and song follow, and the family whistles away a bit of time playing dreidel, generally basking in the comfort of a winter-time respite from routine.

In the Diaspora, Jews have long vied with their Christian neighbors, using Hanukka as a point of departure: more gifts for the children, flashier ornaments, and now even large hanukkiyot competing for space in the public domain with Nativity scenes. In Israel, the *sufganiyot* spirit prevails, as observant and non-observant enthusiastically share in the happy atmosphere.

This is Hanukka at its lowest common denominator. Such a rendering misses the challenging essence of the occasion. As one delves more deeply into the celebration, serious questions become unavoidable:

Why has the conflict been handed down to us as primarily a Greek-Syrian assault on pristine Jewish identity, when it was something very different from that?

Why did our sages underplay the armed struggle in general – surely a bold chapter in our collective history – and leave us with the memorable but hardly volatile miracle of the lights?

In short, why is Hanukka for most of us the lamp, not the sword?

When one reads Josephus, the Books of the Maccabees, and the historian Victor Tchernikov, the truth fairly jumps out of the text's pages. This was no conflict conducted in a hermetically sealed vacuum between righteous Jews on the one side, and foreign Hellenistic aggressors on the other. On the contrary, it was much more of an ideological fight to the finish between brothers, between those Jews who wished to assimilate into an appealing, cultured Hellenism and those who zealously guarded their particularism.

It was a profoundly unpleasant affair. The entire fate of the Jewish people hung precariously in the balance, the end result hardly a foregone conclusion. Families were pitted against one another, charges of treason were hurled back and forth, and a raw and bloody wave of violence was loosed yet again in Eretz Yisrael.

IT WAS a sad episode of Jews-against-Jews – never a pretty sight, not then and not today.

The conceptual arena pitted two gladiators against one another: the Hellenist Jews who backed Beauty and its retinue, Enlightenment and Universalism; versus Truth and its erstwhile teammates, Jewish identity and Faith, harrowed by the more traditional Jews.

The Hellenists, enamoured of the

Greek philosophical position that "man is the measure of all things," placed the human being at the center of the universe. The traditional Jews were nurtured on, "In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth," on the Almighty as the ultimate arbiter.

What kind of Judean state was to emerge? A Greek city-state replete with Olympic games to be inaugurated by "secular" prayers to the gods. For the Hellenists and their mentors, it was the *brut milia* which constituted a recurrent antithesis to their view of human perfection, since something actually had to be subtracted from a human being in order to better him.

When the battle between Jewish brethren was going badly for the Hellenists, they didn't hesitate to call in Greek-Syrian reinforcements. We celebrate Hanukka because the Maccabees won, even against these overwhelming gentile odds, and the symbol of this victory was the purification and rededication of the Holy Temple. So why is this not emphasized? Why has the miracle of the oil overshadowed the military victory? Our sages wanted to forget the bitterness, the civil strife.

I BELIEVE they were also wary that our religious values would reign supreme as a result of internecine battles, rather than due to education. Beyond the initial victory, the end result was continued external interference and the ultimate collapse

of the Hasmonean monarchy which failed abjectly to bring ethical and moral leadership to Judea.

In later generations, the Talmudic sages debate this very same issue, albeit in different terms. Beit Hillel and Beit Shammai debated the issue of how to light the Hanukka candles.

According to the interpretation of Rav Ze'ev, the latter argued it most correct to begin the holiday by lighting eight candles and decrease the count by one each evening to commemorate the miracle that took place. The notion was "to burn out the evil from your midst," from a brighter illumination, or fire, to a lesser one, until the object is consumed.

Hillel took the opposite tack, insisting that more candles be lit with each passing day, just as the light of Torah increases, invoking the message of "K'ner mitzva, m'Tora ohv" – as a candle symbolizes commandment, the Torah is light. In the end, Jewish history and our sages sided with this latter approach.

The central themes of Hanukka, then, are: to aspire to divinely inspired betterment and not the impossible, even haughty, illusion of man-made perfection; to be grateful for the religious and human freedom we enjoy in our national homeland without the interference of any foreign government attempting to control our daily lives.

And, finally, to answer the question initially posed: the true message of this festival is not the fiery purgatory of warfare, of "burning out our foes," but the tenacious, unrelenting commitment to knowledge, faith and values. The Hanukka is the symbol triumphant, representing education and enlightenment through voluntary acceptance, not coercion. We exult in the great value of freedom to express our faith as we wish to.

This leads me to offer this modest proposal, for next Hanukka is not for this: As other people throughout the world have stood together – simply yet purposefully – to demonstrate their desire for peace, their opposition to hunger and so on, so should we. The Jews of Israel should come out of their homes, Hanukkiya in hand, at an appointed day and hour. Together we will light this elegant symbol of our unity.

It is precisely the Hanukkiya, this beacon of freedom, which cries out to us as free Jews in our promised land, to recognize the obvious but frequently ignored reality that binds us together much more than separates us. What a beautiful affirmation this event can be.

The writer, Rabbi of Efrat, is dean of Ohr Torah Yeshiva.

A rededication to the past and future

Tovia Ben-Chorin

THE FESTIVAL of Hanukka combines two basic elements, one romantic and the other national. Of those Jews throughout the world who light candles on Hanukka, the majority relate, consciously or unconsciously, to the romantic commemorative side of the holiday – the miracle of the oil – while the minority identifies with its national, particular message on the Maccabean revolt.

The romantic, "cardiac" Jew, passive and emotional, claims that he feels his Jewishness in his heart. He will tell you that he is conscious of being a Jew and may even declare his belief in God, the Creator of the Universe. The Jew who views his heritage romantically is proud of the Jewish people; he points to past events and glorifies them, but leaves the glory as a part of history. He avoids seeking the imperatives which could be extrapolated from past experience and applied to the present. He clings to stories emphasizing the miraculous in the historic event, the supernatural rather than socio-political achievements. For the romantic Jew, the Messianic Era, "when the world will be perfected under the Kingdom of the Almighty and all the children of flesh will call upon Thy name..." and the historic events which he commemorates are equally remote, evoking at the most a passive affirmation.

The romantic Jew can be found in every camp, from the secular to the Orthodox. What characterizes him is that he glorifies the past and views the present as an antechamber to the more perfect world to come. Because the present is, practically speaking, unrelated to either the past or the messianic future, he abstains from those active *mitzvot* which have socio-political implica-

tions, avoiding personal involvement in such issues as intra-Jewish, inter-ethnic, or cross-cultural relations.

The observant romantic Jew, who fulfills ethical commandments and those regulating worship, senses his Judaism more than does his non-observant counterpart. He places a tremendous emphasis on the minutiae of the forms of worship and definitions of his credo. He views history as a constant regression in man's spiritual development, as evidenced by the Talmudic statement:

If the early sages were sons of angels, we are sons of mortals; if they were sons of mortals, then we are like asses. (*Shabbat* 112b)

ZIONISM was one reaction to romantic Judaism. It was as much an antidote to romantic Eastern European Orthodoxy as to Western European assimilationism and the directions which Western European

Orthodoxy and Reform Judaism had taken. While all of these factions were opposed to Zionism, each for its own reasons, they did agree on one point: the Zionist solution to the Jewish problem was too radical.

What Zionism did succeed in doing – for religious and secular Jews of all shades – was to turn the messianic hope for the return to Zion from a vision, unfettered by time, into a practical political platform of the here and now, thus emphasizing the element of peoplehood, which, in turn, gave rise to a new kind of Jewish group consciousness, national or tribal.

The national tribal Jew is group conscious and therefore establishes political, social and cultural organizations. He is concerned with understanding the past in order to plan and act in the present and set goals for the future. Like the romantic Jew, the nationally motivated Jew may either be observant or secular. Since the latter is bound by the very

nature of Jewish civilization to use religiously-imbedded terminology and thought patterns, he is often confused on the one hand and has strong emotional ties on the other. ZIONISM revived Hanukka as an important national holiday, with the emphasis on the heroic deeds of the Maccabees rather than on the story of the miracle of the jar of oil, seen for centuries as the main message of the festival. The Maccabees became the symbol of the Jew who takes his fate in his own hands and, against all odds, recreates an independent Jewish state in the Land of Israel.

But while the Maccabees knew full well what they were opposed to, both politically and religiously, they were caught unprepared for the new reality of statehood. Their vision fell short of creating new Jewish state modes and they were soon forced to fall back upon Hellenistic forms of government, which ultimately led to the destruction of the Second Temple.

That task which the Maccabees were unable to complete has become our challenge. The past serves as proof that what has been achieved once (however partially) can be achieved once more. The State of Israel is proof of that fact. But we must go beyond what the Maccabees achieved and create Jewish national modes for our state which combine a strong commitment to our past with an equally strong commitment to the messianic hope, balanced by our commitment to democracy, tolerance, and equality, knowing full well that these values are recent, post-Emancipatory additions to Judaism which must be incorporated into the new Jewish reality if we are to succeed in our statehood. Thus the Hanukka candles are a rededication to the past and to the future, based on a new present.

Tovia Ben-Chorin is rabbi of the Har-El Reform Synagogue.

The victory that went wrong

Meir Pa'il

WE JEWS celebrate Hanukka in a highly selective fashion. Traditional Jewry in the *galut* has always commemorated the miracle of the cruse of oil marking the cleansing of the Temple in Jerusalem of Hellenistic idolatry and the resumption of Jewish religious worship.

Modern Zionism, on the other hand, lays the emphasis on the Jewish national war of liberation in Eretz Yisrael, led by Mattathias the Hasmonean and his son Judah Maccabee against the Seleucid kingdom.

As a rule, we do not devote much attention on Hanukka to what happened to the Hasmonean revolution after its initial successes, when the Jewish people won political independence in Eretz Yisrael.

Yet such an inquiry has its uses. It is, after all, important to see what our forefathers did in their independent state and why it was that it failed to endure for more than a few generations. The Maccabean revolt broke out in 167 BCE and Jewish autonomy came to an end in 63 BCE with Pompey's occupation of the country.

However, four years before the arrival of Pompey's legions, the Hasmonean kingdom began to crumble from within following the death of Salome Alexandra, whose two sons by Alexander Yammal, Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II, began warring against each other for the succession, in the process completely destroying Jewish national autonomy and unity. The Hasmonean dynasty managed to keep the Jewish kingdom intact for only three generations.

DURING THIS time there was a series of ostensibly positive developments. As Hasmonean territorial

conquest proceeded, the kingdom's boundaries expanded towards the Negev in the south, up to the Mediterranean coast, to Galilee in the north, and into Transjordan. The army gained in strength and by Alexander Yammal's reign had acquired reasonable military potential in the buffer zone between the empires of the Ptolemies in the south and the Seleucids in the north.

However, negative trends in the same period were to undermine Jewish autonomy and eventually drain it of all positive content. True, the Hasmonean forces increased in size and equipment, but as the army became progressively one of conquest and occupation, the more it relied on professional mercenaries, generally foreigners, who owed allegiance neither to the people nor to the country, but to the Hasmonean monarch in whose employ they were.

The originality of Judah Maccabee's military thinking was gradually abandoned, and the army became just another of the Hellenistic armies in the region. It became more and more difficult to prevail over armies organized on a similar pattern, like those of the far stronger kingdoms of the Ptolemies and Seleucids. Quite obviously, it was to no avail against the might of Rome.

HASMONEAN RULE became increasingly centralized. Until the death of Judah Maccabee in battle in 160, there had been a separation of powers between Judah as commander-in-chief and the office of the high priest. Subsequently, Jonathan assumed both functions and after his death, his brother Simon followed him as high priest and supreme commander and added *nasi* (ethnarch) to his titles, thus concentrating religious, military and political leadership in his person.

THE REIGN of Alexander Yammal, personal, harsh and absolute, was in fact identical to the monarchical

style common throughout Western Asia from time immemorial, which influenced the heirs of Alexander the Great in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties and ultimately the rulers of Rome, from Julius Caesar on.

In this fashion, the Hasmonean dynasty gradually adopted the style of foreign regimes, more Asiatic than Greek. Their Hellenizing tendencies can thus be seen as Oriental in character, having no relation to Athenian democracy.

In order to ease the burden of this monarchical, centralized, Hellenistic regime which they had instituted, they cut themselves off entirely from the Judaism of the scribes and sages.

Until then, the various institutions had enabled the laws of the Torah to be brought into line with current needs, allowing a permanent dynamic in legal, social, spiritual and ritual development. This procedure, which was gradually absorbed into the Pharisaic outlook, greatly sustained the Hasmoneans of the first generation during the war of liberation by adapting tradition to the special exigencies of the times.

However, John Hyrcanus, and later on his sons, sided with the Sadducees, whose strict view of the exclusivity and immutability of the Torah left no room for change and development.

This, as a consequence, necessitated borrowings from the Hellenistic material, religious and political culture. Had these borrowings been confined to the democratic norms

and rationalism of Greek culture – it might have been possible to derive great benefit therefrom and to arrive at a synthesis of the best that Greek culture had to offer and the unique monotheistic tradition of Jewish agrarian society in Eretz Yisrael.

The Hasmonean dynasty chose instead to adopt the totalitarian monarchy of the Hellenistic world and to nurture an idolatrous worship of splendor in sculpture and architecture and an obsession with cultivating the body.

SO IT WAS that an ever-widening rift was created between the majority of the Jewish population in Eretz Yisrael and the last Hasmonean kings, causing alienation and ultimately rebellion on the part of the Pharisees against Alexander Yammal. This culminated in the dissolution of the kingdom from within even before the conquest of the region by the Romans.

WHAT CAN WE learn from this era in our people's history?

While it is obvious that each individual will draw from Hasmonean times those conclusions most congenial to his own ideology and outlook, certain lessons ought to be clear to us all. Excessive conquest over other peoples is to be avoided, as is the retention of an army based on mercenaries, rather than a popular army with its unique military doctrines.

A pluralistic-democratic social order with maximum involvement of the people in government is preferable to an absolutist regime. Outdated legal and judicial doctrines should be abandoned in favor of a constant renewal of tradition through democratic, representative institutions led by people with a proven capacity for sound judgment inspired by principles of justice and the successes of the Zionist enterprise at its best.

Meir Pa'il, a military historian, was an MK of the left-wing Sheli party.

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The rebellion that changed the West

David Solomon



"WHERE ONCE the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard round the world." So wrote Ralph Waldo Emerson of the beginning of the American Revolution that was indeed to be an event of global import. These words could be applied with equal relevance to the Maccabean revolution, a no less significant event in the history of mankind. For that is precisely how it must be viewed and understood — not the local uprising of a tiny, backwater vassal in Seleucid-ruled Judea; an uprising which led to a mere century of Jewish independence and sovereignty, but a major historical occurrence with far-reaching implications for Western civilization.

The reverberations of the wars of the Hasmonean brothers and their heirs, coupled with the political and diplomatic acumen they displayed both internationally and locally, must have led to a heightened self-confidence and self-awareness on the part of the Jewish communities scattered across the face of the Greco-Roman world. Long after the last Maccabean king — or queen to be more exact — had departed from the stage of history, the Jewish people was not only waging an aggressive struggle to maintain its traditional way of life, but was also attempting with almost equal vigor to convince its idolatrous neighbors of the futility of their beliefs and practices.

THIS VIGOROUS championing of Jewish belief and mores in the milieu of an increasingly sophisticated but still rabidly polytheistic world, while already evident in pre-Maccabean times, began to assert itself ever more intensively with the onset of the Maccabean revolution. Reactions to this Jewish challenge were not long in coming.

One instance was a Roman edict which coincided with the days of Simon the Maccabee in the Land of Israel, which speaks of the expulsion of the Jewish community from Rome (or perhaps all of Italy) in the late Forties of the second century BCE. The reason for the grave order was, in the words of the Roman historian Valerius Maximus, due to the Jews' "corrupting the morals" of the people — a frequently-employed euphemism in the ancient world for attempts at indoctrinating the populace with a foreign religion. There are scholars who maintain that this Jewish proselytizing was officially, if quietly, encouraged, by Jewish diplomats who came from Eretz Yisrael to renew the Hasmonean pact with Rome.

At the very beginning of Hasmonean sway over the Land of Israel, the Jewish communities in and outside the motherland could not have numbered more than five per cent of the population of the entire non-Jewish world. Considering their small numbers, and the incontrovertible evidence that Jews were the butt of hostile propaganda and, at times, objects of physical violence for their refusal to go along with the idol-worshipping world around

them, one cannot but be amazed at the Jews' staying power.

But even more amazing was their engaging virtually the entire known world in cultural combat. The Jew kept throwing down the ideological gauntlet to the entire pagan world.

This was done in the form of virtually daily confrontations, as in the steady stream of literary works, commencing with the historical Second Book of Maccabees and continuing with the Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees, the latter employing the Greek literary-philosophical art forms of the day to bring the Jewish message home even more forcefully. Other examples were the writings of the Egyptian tragedian Ezekiel, the Bible exegete Aristobolus (apparently also of Egypt) and others.

Whether the great work of the Septuaginta, the translation of the Bible into Greek, was a product of Jewish initiative is still a moot point. However, it is clear that it must have served to propagate the biblical message, not only to Jews but to the pagan intelligentsia as well.

ASIDE from the historical portrayal of the Maccabean uprising in the Greek-language Second Book of Maccabees, one theme runs like a golden thread throughout these and many other Jewish literary compositions: pride in the Jewish way of life and the willingness not only to defend that way of life, but also to rally forth to "sell" these values to a great rush to "buy" them.

It is interesting, to say the least, that this great spirit of Jewish literary activity, meant to propagate Judaism among the heathen, coincides for the most part with the rise of the Maccabean kingdom, at a time when battles were still being waged at home, and only a few years after the Jews in the homeland had successfully countered the appalling threat of spiritual extinction.

While the greater part of this bustling literary activity was taking place in the Diaspora, much was happening back home. The Land of Israel was undergoing a cultural renaissance of its own. Conscious, concerted efforts were made to return to the nation's ancient roots, as evinced in such disparate spheres as the revitalization of both the ancient Hebrew language and script, the new literary art forms coming to the fore and the issuance of national coinage, a sure indication in the ancient world of growing national independence.

Simultaneously, the Maccabean rulers were displaying a political and diplomatic acumen on the international scene, such as had not been witnessed, perhaps, since the days of King Solomon well over eight centuries previously.

The tiny Jewish vassal had stood up, not only to the military might of the Seleucid Empire, but to the cultural-ideological juggernaut that was the Greco-Roman world, with success that transcended the chronological and political frontiers of the

era. For the Maccabean state had, in effect, called a halt to the unbridled expansion of paganism and it was here, in this tiny land, that the seeds were sown for paganism's ultimate downfall and the rise of Western civilization.

The Maccabean leadership had laid the groundwork for the propagation of two great messages — the Bible and national resistance to tyranny — which were to become the spiritual-ideological underpinnings of Western civilization. The first message was to herald the death knell of paganism, while the concept of an entire nation's open defiance of attempts at spiritual oppression, something virtually unheard of in antiquity, presaged that unending ideological ferment which was to characterize the Western world in centuries to come. Western civilization as we know it would have been inconceivable without these two great shining lights in its firmament.

FOR THE Jews, the Maccabean era was of equally far-reaching import. Despite the brief span of Hasmonean rule, the dynasty succeeded in extending Jewish rule over virtually the entire biblical Land of Israel. In somewhat over six decades, the geopolitical picture had dramatically and radically changed and virtually reordered the country's basic demographic visage for centuries to come. The Jews were now settled throughout the land. Later Roman attempts to eradicate the memory of the very name Judea by the contemptuous surrogate, "palestina" (the modern "Palestine," referring to the country's Philistine population in biblical times), never succeeded in altering the fact of the intrinsically Jewish makeup of the country.

The Maccabean state never became the secular entity certain scholars claim it to have been. Secular states in the modern sense simply did not exist in the ancient world. This holds even more true for the Jewish state of some 2,100 years ago, with its tradition of faith and practice that imbued all aspects of daily existence. This applies in equal measure to Judah Maccabee as to the much later Maccabean ruler, Yohanan Hyrcanus, whose Jewish soldiers forced an entire Seleucid army, of which they comprised a contingent, to encamp for three days during the height of a campaign, because of the onset of a Jewish festival.

The later Pharisee leadership of the Jewish people gave due recognition to these hallowed events and individuals by many a Talmudic passage and prayer. The festive Hallel prayer is recited in its entirety on all eight days of the Hanukkah festival, unlike even the biblical festival of national liberation, Passah, and the biblical holiday of national rejoicing, Succot, when only a portion of the prayer is recited on all but the first day of each of these festivals.

It should be remembered, in conclusion, that the Maccabean Revolution was rooted in the mass of the people. In the decades and centuries that followed, even throughout the vicissitudes of harsh Roman rule, the Maccabean House continued to enjoy the support and unwavering sympathies of the bulk of Jewry in the gola as in the Land of Israel. It was this combination of support on the part of the nation's spiritual elite and the people as a whole, that eventually propelled the Festival of Lights into its place in the calendar of Jewish eternity.

The writer, a specialist in the Second Temple period, lectures in Jewish history at the Central Teachers' Advanced Studies College in Tel Aviv.

THEY'RE saying that Finance Minister Moshe Nissim must really believe that Israel is the land of miracles if he thought he could push through a radical tax reform program and drastic budget cuts after only three weeks' preparation. His critics point out that in the mighty United States, it took President Ronald Reagan over two years to get his tax reforms adopted after lengthy public discussion and legislative debate.

It's said that Nissim's usually sensitive political antennae didn't work so well for once. This time, he adopted the maximalist ideas fostered by Governor of the Bank of Israel Professor Michael Aronson and Finance Ministry Director-General Dr. Ezzamel Sharon, rather than the gradualist concepts urged by deputy Finance Minister Adi Amichai and State Revenue Commissioner Israel Aron.

Likud Knesset faction chairman Haim Kaufman's charge that Labour's objections were politically inspired made him look somewhat foolish after Sunday's mini-repeat performance of the Herut convention's "Grand Guignol" show. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and his fellow actors Deputy Premier and Housing Minister David Levy, Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon and Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe Arens starred in an exercise of "Broigez as Politics."

Nissim quickly sought to mend his fences with Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, whom he had initially excluded from his deliberations. I learned that Nissim asked Peres to come to the rescue in a pre-Shabbat tete-a-tete at the Vice Premier's home. He apparently is ready to risk reading about "Peres's Plan," rather than "Nissim's Reform." We'll soon see the Foreign Ministry humming with Histadrut bosses and industrialists.

Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin certainly emerged as one of the strongest cabinet figures in the budget debate, enjoying Peres's full backing in fighting defence cuts, and the wary respect of Shamir and the others. After all, they know how popular he is with the Likud constituency.

Sharon was mistaken, if he thought he would take over the centre stage by his well-publicized feud with Nissim and brush with Shamir at the cabinet meeting. He was outstaged by Levy, who proved himself even more adept in the broigez game, over Arens's complaint about the African-led services provided to Israel's citizens. Undoubtedly Arens was thinking of the late Levi Eshkol's aphorism about "Israelis wanting to earn like Americans, live like Europeans and work like Africans." Tension between them predated the party convention, when Levy's people accused Arens of seeking to push their man out of the succession race.

While "Misha" certainly never intended any ethnic slur, Levy managed to squeeze the last bit of bathos — and undoubtedly much internal party profit — out of the incident. Some say it was the best present Levy received for his 49th birthday, which he celebrated with his family at his Beit She'an home at a late-night surprise party. His adversaries claim it was no surprise, and that Levy stalked out of the cabinet room, not in protest at any ethnic slur, but in order to reach home in time for the party with the headline-winning scene a profitable afterthought.

PRESIDENT Chaim Herzog told Elin Wiesel that the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize "was bestowed through you upon the Jewish people, and upon the six million Holocaust martyrs," at the Beit Hanassi dinner in Wiesel's honour. Wiesel dwelt on his resolve to devote himself to the cause of Soviet Jewry in coming years. First Lady Anna Herzog once more upheld her reputation as our top hostess among the guests, who included Yitzhak and Shulamit Shamir, Agency/WZO chairman Arye Dubin, and Lord and Lady Sifit. (The Anglo-Jewish magazine gave the president a copy of his biography *Don't Ask the Price*, due out shortly.) Also there were Emma Yarona, daughter of the late Nobel literature laureate Shai Agnon, Norwegian

Birthday boy who walked out in a huff

Public Faces/Mark Segal



Moshe Arens



David Levy

Chief Rabbi Michael Melchior and Norwegian Ambassador Torleiv Ande, who was incarcerated at Buchenwald with Wiesel.

The Nobel laureate stressed that only five of his 36 published works were on Holocaust themes. He did so at Beit Hanassi and also at the reception in his honour given by Yehudit Aharonovitch and her husband, Yehudit Aharonovitch.

Guests included Peres, Rabin, Arens, Religious Affairs Minister Ze'evulun Hammer and Minister-without-Portfolio Yitzhak Moda'i.

The party was further made memorable by the reconciliation between Yuditkovsky and Mrs. Paula Moses and her son, Arnon (Nanny), the paper's joint managing-director. Only recently they ironed out outstanding differences left in the wake of the death a year ago of her late husband, publisher-editor Noah Moses. Mrs. Moses earlier held a women-only party in honour of Marjorie, the laureate's wife and translator, at her new home in the Tel Binyamin quarter of Ramat Gan. Among those present were Arye Herzog, Shulamit Shamir and Alice Pickering (wife of the U.S. ambassador).

WZO CHAIRMAN Dulzin told me he plans to run for a third term at the next Zionist Congress on the World Union of General Zionists' ticket. This followed the reported Herut plan to nominate Ambassador to the UN Yoramla (Bibi) Netanyahu as a candidate. Herut sources claim that Deputy Minister Romie Milo backs the idea. In Labour, they're talking of MK Simha Dinitz.

JUST BEFORE publisher Lord Weidenfeld came to Jerusalem to join Gordon and Ann Getty for their successful Wheatland Foundation conference on "The Future of the Orchestra," the London Observer reported on his secret mission in the '70s for then prime minister Harold Wilson to Washington. There he met with then CIA chief (today U.S. vice-president) George Bush. The report said he obtained a U.S. "kashrut certificate" for Wilson in the wake of a disinformation campaign waged against him by the South Africans and British ultrarightists.

Gordon Getty, the richest American, encountered the third richest European, Friedrich Christian (Mick) Flick and his wife Countess Maya (nee Schonberg-Glauchau) carrying luncheon trays in the communal dining-hall of Ma'agan Michael last weekend. The Flicks were mingling with the kibbutzniks along with their sabra hosts Romie and Galit Fuhrer and their mutual friend Moshe Dagan. Fuhrer, an international trader who commutes between Tel Aviv, London and Zurich, reports that Flick, grandson of one of the Nazis' principal backers and major slave labour employer, hugely enjoyed his visit and left Israel a convinced Zionist. The German tycoon was previously here incognito in May as part of a 50th birthday visit of German publishing giant Friede Burda.

Getty held his 50th birthday party in Jerusalem at the American Colony Hotel, but had to miss the closing conference banquet hosted by Jerusalem Foundation president Ruth Cheskin in the Citadel's candle-lit western tower. The meal

was preceded by an imaginative guided tour of the place by the Foundation's Alan Freeman. King David Hotel catering manager Avraham Wiener smilingly supervised the biblical-style cuisine (no cutlery) served by toga-dressed waiters, amidst splendid flower arrangements, thoroughly enjoyed by Wheatland Foundation president Ann Getty — living proof that glamour and intelligence can co-exist — and such distinguished guests as Sir Isaiah and Lady Berlin, Victor and Lilian Hochhausser, Isaac Stern and Israel Prize laureate Yosef Tal. After Weidenfeld, Wheatland Foundation chairman, toasted "the peace of Jerusalem." Mayor Teddy Kollek spoke of them "witnessing Jerusalem's quiet beauty beyond the tumultuous headlines."

KNESSET Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee chairman Abba Khan told the International Centre for Peace in the Middle East how much he regretted Arab lack of Jewish pragmatism. "They reject any offer meeting 80 per cent of their demands," he said, comparing their attitude to that of an over-zealous security officer during his days as foreign minister, who used to label documents with "Destroy before Reading!" Eban has lately been meeting Palestinian figures like Al Fajr editor Hanna Salsara.

IT MAY be of interest to note that aram merchant Ya'acov Nimrodi's Sayona residence is named "The White House," and was modelled by former owner Iranian-born Avraham Rade on the Washington original. While Nimrodi is flooding the media with his views on "Irangate," his pal Al Schwimmer won't talk to the press, as I learned at the festive opening of the Tel Aviv Museum Board of Governors. Also present were Lord and Lady Sieff, Pauline Recanat, Benno Gitter, Esther Rabin, World Wizo president Raya Jagalon, Ayala Sachs-Abramov and deputy Knesset Speaker Dov Ben-Meir. Non-Hebrew speaking guests were fortunate in lacking translation facilities, otherwise they'd have heard a bad-tempered Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo (Chich) Lahat, museum chairman, being very rude to museum director Marc Scheeps in his speech.

Many of the guests came straight from the reception given by Israel and Rachel Pollack in honour of Lova Eliav's new book *A New Heart and a New Spirit*, attended by President and Mrs. Herzog.

NEW DUTCH Ambassador Jan Baarsman was Royan as come full circle, as he told the Israel-Netherlands Friendship Society in Jerusalem. His father was the Dutch UN delegate who voted in 1947 for the establishment of a Jewish state, and his diplomat son when asked for his preference for a new post by his Foreign Ministry, gave Israel as his first, second and third choices.

THE MANY friends of former Supreme Court Justice Haim Cohn are delighted by his near-miraculous recovery from a heart attack, and closely follow his recuperation at his Jerusalem home.

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Some favour a gradual approach; others say it's not daring enough or simply reject it

Michal Yudelman writes of the workers' view of the Nissim plan

'Heaven's gift to the rich'

IF ANY WAGE earner happened to support the government's proposed economic programme, his or her voice was unheard in the seemingly unanimous outcry raised by the Histadrut against it.

One by one, the country's large trade unions and works committees converged on the Histadrut's Tel Aviv headquarters to pledge their allegiance to Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar in his fight against the economic programme, a programme branded by Histadrut leaders as "a gift from heaven for the rich" and "a programme of taking from the poor and giving to the rich."

After the metal, electricity, electronics and textile trade unions declared war on the economy programme, on Wednesday it was the turn of the food industry workers.

Workers' representatives of Lieber, Milnot, Yaf'ora, Stock, and Yafomor, as well as Dubeck and labour council secretaries representing 52,000 workers in food plants in Tel Aviv, Bnei Brak, Jerusalem, Netanya, Rehovot, Holon, Rishon LeZion, Ramle, Ashdod and Kiryat Malachi, convened for an emergency meeting at Histadrut headquarters. Food plant pensioners were also represented.

Workers who had spent most of their lives in production lines sat around the conference table, gazing deferentially at the powerful Histadrut officials. But when their turn came to speak, their concern for their future jobs, their families and their hard-won work agreements was evident. Their statements conveyed the ferment and frustration over the economic programme in work places throughout the country. They looked to Histadrut leaders as their only hope of preventing the government from pouncing on what was left; but their desperation indicated their deep-rooted fears that even the Histadrut would fail, abandoning them to uncaring decision-makers.

"What has the Histadrut done for me? We are already hearing talk of its accepting the economic programme in principle," David Sasa, head of Dubeck's works committee, said. "It's intolerable that every time there's an economic crisis and something has to be done they try to see what else can be taken off the workers' wages. We must fight. But if we fight, then all the food plant workers in the country must go on strike. If we don't provide them (the government) with food and drink, they won't be able to impose taxes on us."

A worker from Ramle said: "Workers hear that they'll pay less taxes, but not what they'll be charged for it. Some of them don't read the papers and fall asleep in front of the television. They have to understand that they're going to be harmed, instead of better off."

Another worker interrupted, "And what good will that do? I understand that the programme will harm me, does that help?"

Hanna, a pensioner from Sunfrost in Ashdod, said that food workers with 15 years' seniority get a maximum of NIS 2.5 for an hour's work.

"Around Ashdod hundreds of Arabs are working for NIS 15 a day. Jews can't work for that. Mothers are paying day-care centres more than NIS 250 a month, more than their entire wages. So why should they work outside the home? People say to me, 'Hanna, why do you keep talking about the Histadrut? They don't help.' Nobody can help us; we have no one to turn to. Therefore we must go out and fight, so that they (the workers) see we mean what we say."

Prabha Malinovsky of Ramle said: "Talking won't help. They want to eat us alive. We are guinea-pigs in the hands of a lousy capitalist government, which wants to reduce us to the state of slaves in Africa or

cheap labour in Taiwan and Hong Kong."

"Comrade," shouted someone. "We're already in that state!"

Haim Milon, Netanya: "We were the victims of the last economic programme, and sacrificed 30 per cent of our wages. Now they want us to pay health and education taxes. Who knows where it will end?"

"The students did not say a word when they raised tuition fees. But look what happened in France when the government tried to change tuition policy. Look what happened in Morocco when they tried to raise the price of bread. Only here nobody stands up. Man, you're going to be screwed, stand up, get out into the street!" he said.

APART FROM criticizing the Histadrut for past ineffectiveness, the workers had a message for all Knesset members and ministers, especially from the Labour Party. "Telegrams must go out to every minister and Knesset member: if you pass this economic programme, the working public will not vote for you or support you any more," said Arye Rubin of Tel Aviv.

Knesset members and ministers also came under fire for the 40 per cent wage raise they allotted themselves recently. Workers demanded that the Histadrut's central committee protest to "our comrades in the Knesset" about it. "It's disgraceful, shameful! They are the first who should be giving up raises. Do they think we're complete idiots? We are asked to sacrifice pay for the good of the economy while they get richer at our expense," people shouted.

But veteran Histadrut official Efraim Eloni, deputy chairman of the Histadrut's trade union department, urged them to put complaints against the Histadrut aside. "If there are wage demands, raise them at the work agreement negotiations in April," Eloni said. "I don't make political distinctions, in the government or in the Histadrut. It is one Histadrut, with one-and-a-half million workers, regardless of what party they vote for. If we all stand united, no government will be able to approve a plan depriving 80 per cent of the population and giving money to the other 20 per cent."

"What moral right has Moshe Nissim to get up in front of workers and say, 'Your situation will stay the same, while the rich get more! There's only one answer: If all the fingers unite into one hand, no one will be able to stand against a fist of 1.5 million workers!'"

No one could be found with a good word to say about the programme. Dubeck's David Sasa, who admits to a salary well above the average, confesses that the economic programme may give him extra income.

"But you have to look ahead. The basis for our pension is net pay. So I'll get a few extra shekels today, if they reduce taxes. Taxes can be changed and increased at will. But my net salary remains the same while I pay more for children's education, health, transport, basic products. That's much more than what I'll get from the tax deduction. And if this trick works, then the rest of the work agreements will be cancelled as well and all our benefits with them," he explains.

Moshe Aditya, of Yaf'ora, also gets a good salary. "But everyone will lose from the economic programme," he says.

"If meals at work places, recreation, fares to work and other tax-exempt expenses are taxed, even those earning more than NIS 1,000 will end up with less than they had before."

The workers file out of the meeting and go back to their jobs. It is not clear from their expressions whether or not they emerged encouraged from the meeting. One thing is certain: they will do all in their power to stop the economic programme.

"THEY DID IT the wrong way round. Instead of producing a plan with bold, daring aims, accompanied by careful, stage-by-stage implementation, they went for a relatively cautious plan which they intended to carry out in an aggressive way, all in one shot."

Eli Hurwitz, chairman of Bank Leumi, managing director of Teva Pharmaceuticals and former president of the Manufacturers' Association, gave a typically frank and thorough assessment of the Treasury's economic reform programme in an interview with *The Jerusalem Post* this week. Hurwitz's views are rarely a recital of any particular "party line" — perhaps because the simultaneous representation of several, often conflicting interests allows him to achieve a more broadly-based approach.

Like most reactions to the programme, Hurwitz's began with "yes, but." In his case, too, the "yes" referred to the necessity of the reforms, and the general direction of lowering the tax burden and reducing the degree of government involvement in the economy. It was at the "but" stage that Hurwitz began to part company with any hitherto-identified consensus.

The main thing that the proposed programme lacked, in his view, was a "move in the real economy." Translated from the economic jargon, which Hurwitz has apparently picked up from excessive association with professional economists, this means that the projected cut in the government's spending is too small. Given, furthermore, that the Treasury's hoped-for cut of almost NIS 500 million will probably be reduced by half, the cut becomes far too small, for Hurwitz's taste.

The reason why the economy is "not" right now, he says, is because the government has not cut its spending sufficiently and therefore demand is still strong. Failure to cut significantly in the coming year will mean that any fall in the inflation rate to around 10-12 per cent per annum, such as he expects in the coming months, will not be permanent, but will soon revert to higher rates of 15 or 20 per cent.

This will cause continued pressure on local costs which, in turn, given a fixed exchange rate, will increase the pressure on exporters, especially those receiving dollar payments. This pressure has been growing for months, and is responsible for what the Teva boss describes as "the severe frustration" of many manufacturers.



Eli Hurwitz

(Rahamim Yisraeli)

YES, BUT...

Pinhas Landau gets an independent-minded view from a top industrialist

But devaluation is no solution, he hastens to point out. If a "real" devaluation were possible — meaning one that did not quickly bring in its train catch-up price rises in local goods and in wage costs — that would be ideal. The search for the holy grail of real devaluations, however, is fruitless in the current environment.

Hurwitz believes, and he also reckons that most of the manufacturers who are demanding one to ease their problems, are aware of this. In short, "the positive effect of a devaluation will be cancelled out almost immediately by its negative side-effects."

If the Histadrut were to agree to waive several cost-of-living agreements, the effect on wage costs would be the same as a real devaluation; but Hurwitz doesn't see that as a reasonable expectation at present, hence it is no more realistic a solution than a straightforward devaluation.

Despite his concern over the "overheated" economy, he finds himself in agreement with the relatively optimistic inflation scenario for the coming year, recently published by Bank Leumi's economic department. An annual rate of 12-15 per cent is achievable so long as the exchange rate is held steady and the

budget deficit is not allowed to grow. But it could be much lower if the government would not merely hold the line on spending, but actually cut it.

Meanwhile, a positive aspect of the surge in consumer imports, at least those that compete with local goods, is that they prevent price rises and act as a stabilizing factor. This, then, is the silver lining to the otherwise black cloud of spending on imports.

The hold-up in implementing the economic plan may also turn out to have been a good thing, he continues, quoting no less authoritative a source than his wife's grandmother — "a clever lady" in his estimation, who believed that all delays were to the good. The enforced delay in the decision-making process could turn out to be beneficial. Why?

Because, responded Hurwitz, returning to his main theme, the programme was presented wrongly. It should be a long-term plan, in which the whole sequence of events is laid out year by year in advance. This would allow far greater leeway in the negotiating process, for instance in the personal tax reform plan, and the wholesale cancellation of exemptions on which it depends. Those groups who are seeking to maintain

their privileges could be bought off with delayed implementation, he reasoned. Abolishing an existing privilege tomorrow will send people to the barricades; negotiating its abolition two years down the road would dissipate violent reactions and undermine opposition.

BEYOND THESE tactical considerations, there are other factors that favour a gradual approach. In the context of capital market reform, said Hurwitz, this time donning his banker's hat, the market is unready to make a rapid transition to free access for all firms to the bond and equity markets.

There are, as yet, no credit-rating institutions operating in Israel to give investors reasonable indications of the quality of various borrowers, so that the cost of raising capital for most firms would actually rise. If lenders demanded risk premiums before giving their money to borrowers who were, for the most part, an unknown quantity. Investment banking, likewise, was still being talked about, rather than carried out, and this generally primitive set-up might well fail to absorb the shock of overnight deregulation, and thereby create a climate of disappointment in the whole process.

Above all, continued Hurwitz, now reverting to his industrialist role, the long-term process is necessary in corporate tax reform.

"Reducing taxes to 45 per cent is not revolutionary today. Maybe it was two years ago, but after the Americans triggered a process of bringing corporate taxation down to 38 per cent at first, and ultimately to 28 per cent, talk of 45 per cent is irrelevant."

Even worse is the whispered suggestion that 45 per cent is not the final target, but the best that can be done at the moment, given budgetary constraints. Next year, or the year after, the Treasury hints, we may push ahead to 40 per cent. This, noted Hurwitz flatly, is quite the wrong way to go about things.

"They should state their aim loud and clear from the outset, and then say, 'This year corporate tax will be 44 per cent — or even 46 per cent — and next year we will reduce it to 40 per cent and so on down to the 30-35 per cent level.' For the potential investor, next year doesn't matter anyway, because several years will pass before he can begin to reap the fruits from his investment. He is therefore concerned with long-term policy, not the coming year, with the 'hebra.' Just like old times; what?"

"Furthermore, the commitment to bringing tax rates down over several years is tantamount to announcing a policy of ongoing reductions in government spending over the same period. Alternatively, the government could finance the cuts by selling its assets, and thus withdrawing from involvement in the economy. But in any event, the process should be enacted in one law, which would lay down the steps and their timing."

"We have been trained to live with retroactive legislation, particularly regarding corporate taxation. There is no reason they shouldn't try forward-acting legislation for once," Hurwitz concluded, with almost undisguised asperity toward the tax authorities.

In the 1984-85 package deals, and in the period before and after the implementation of the Economic Stabilisation Plan of July 1985, Hurwitz played a key role as senior representative of the employers' roof organisation. Today, that position is held by Dov Lautman, of Galil Textiles, and Hurwitz is formally limited to his role as chairman of the Banking Association. It would appear, however, that Hurwitz's behind-the-scenes role has been quite significant, and is likely to become more so in the coming weeks.

This is particularly so since Shimon Peres has re-emerged as a major political force in the revamping of the Treasury's original programme. Peres and Hurwitz are known to get along extremely well, and Kessar and Hurwitz, while by no means seeing eye-to-eye on many subjects, have a healthy respect for each other. Mod'at, the finance minister of the package deals and the ESP, has been replaced by Moshe Nissim, and Lautman has been added on the manufacturer's side, while Haim Haberfeld may be a greater force in the Histadrut camp.

Other changes have been the emergence of Professor Michael Bruno from the eminence grise role he played last year as adviser, to centre stage as governor of the central bank. The other top civil servants, including Treasury director-general Emmanuel Sharon, budget director Abraham Fogel and head of the monetary department at the Bank of Israel, Victor Medina, are all still in place.

All of which might explain why Hurwitz was gearing up for some tough bargaining over the coming period, and seemed quite elated at the prospect of late-night sessions

Avi Temkin says Nissim and Peres are among the few who are happy with the way things are going.

Winners and losers



The session was not all smiles when Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar argued about the economic plan with ministers Ya'acobi, Shamir, Peres and Nissim.

(Rahamim Yisraeli)

AFTER TWO weeks of battles surrounding the Treasury's proposals for sweeping economic reforms, Vice Premier Shimon Peres has emerged as the key policy-maker in the field of economics. Likud politicians must be wondering how what was to be their party's economic plan, the programme that was to put them in a strong position for the 1988 elections, has turned into the plan that Shimon Peres will cook up, and possibly also implement.

At first glance, the main loser has been Finance Minister Moshe Nissim. After all, following two lengthy meetings, the cabinet did not endorse his plan. No decision was taken in the cabinet endorsing a NIS 486 million budget cut, as demanded by Nissim, nor is there any formal approval for the Treasury's tax reform proposals. All that Nissim was able to get from the cabinet was the establishment of two committees — one to deal with cuts in the state budget, and a second, dealing with the proposed tax reform and empowered to talk to the Histadrut and the employers on this issue.

The first team is named by Peres, Nissim, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Economics Minister Gad Ya'acobi. The second committee will consist only of Nissim and Peres. The composition of these teams means that the steps to be implemented in the budget, the tax system and the capital market will be determined by the finance minister and the vice premier. Both Ya'acobi and Shamir will give their consent to whatever agreement their colleagues reach.

This puts Nissim's position in a different light. Earlier this week, he revealed that he had reached an agreement with Peres on the establishment of the committees last Friday. In other words, Nissim had recruited Peres to work on behalf of the plan. True, he paid a high price for this, agreeing to place Peres at the centre of public attention, but on the other hand he can now congratulate himself that he has such a powerful ally.

From Peres's perspective, the deal could not have been better. First, in the eyes of the public, the vice premier appears to be the only politician capable of drafting and implementing the necessary economic

reforms. Even Shamir admitted this much when interviewed on Israel TV this week.

Second, Peres knows that the Histadrut cannot reject his proposals out of hand. Peres can use the requests for aid from Histadrut-owned firms and from bodies linked to the labour movement, like kibbutzim and moshavim, to bring the labour federation to his knees, without fear of being accused of taking advantage of their dire economic situations. He is the only one who can deliver the goods.

IF THE developments of the past two weeks produced a loser, it was the Likud. Once again it proved incapable of managing the economic affairs of this country. The economic reforms were supposed to erase the stigma of losers from Likud leaders. However, that image was only reinforced. In the eyes of the public, the Labour Party and their own followers, the Likud appears more disunited than ever, with the plan almost

falling prey to Herut fighting between Housing Minister David Levy and Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe Arens.

Likud ministers and politicians blame Levy for what happened. They say that some weeks ago Levy had not attacked the plan the way he had this week. What took place, they say, was a chain reaction. By opposing the plan, Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar forced the head of the Likud Histadrut faction, MK Ya'acov Shamai, to come out against the scheme. This pushed Kessar into an even more extreme rejection of the plan. Levy could not afford to lag behind Kessar and Shamai, they say, and thus was left with no choice but to attack the plan, leading the onslaught against the planned scrapping of tax exemptions.

But there is another aspect to Levy's row with Arens and Shamir. For the first time in many years, the Likud leadership was not trying to

speak on behalf of the country's lower income groups. The so-called "populist rhetoric" which has characterized Herut in the past 10 or 15 years, was replaced during the past several weeks by a "liberal ideology," with the party openly admitting that it sought to help high income groups. David Levy, Herut's most outspoken populist, cannot allow the party to deviate from this line. Shamir and Arens, on the other hand, are convinced that the populist of Levy should be left behind.

Some Likud politicians must also blame Shamir for their party's setback. Nothing would be more natural than to compare Shamir's behaviour in the last weeks with that of Peres in July 1985, when the emergency economic plan was launched. As prime minister, Peres forced the Histadrut into agreeing to presenting it with an ultimatum. Peres knew what he wanted, made sure that his party rallied behind him, and presented the cabinet, the party, and the people, with an image of leadership and determination.

Shamir, in contrast, let things drift. Except for a few appearances during which he declared his support for the plan, and his participation in the inner economic cabinet meetings, he was not involved in the drafting of the plan or in attempts to implement it. The plan had reached a deadlock by the end of last week, but Shamir remained seemingly detached. It was the same attitude that permitted economic developments to reach a crisis point in 1984, when Yigal Cohen-Orad was finance minister. Shamir was then premier, but did not intervene to stop the economy from drifting into galloping inflation.

THE OTHER potential loser emerging from the war over economic reform is the Histadrut. Kessar's vocal opposition to Nissim's plan enabled Peres to remain silent, and not attack the plan frontally. This made it possible for the Labour Party to reap political gains in Monday's cabinet meeting.

Now the Histadrut will find itself fighting an altogether different battlefield. It will be impossible for the labour federation to persist in its all-out opposition plan.

The time for taking decisions is

approaching, and when it comes, the Histadrut will have to decide with tax exemptions will have to go. Kessar will have to choose from exemptions for child allowances, old-age allowances or payments to handicapped persons, exemptions for night-shift workers, exemptions for development town residents or for advanced study funds.

The Histadrut is demanding that the government tax capital gains in the stock market, or impose a levy on securities transactions. Peres's support for this move means that such taxation can be envisaged. Nevertheless, the chances of such a tax being imposed are not great. A Labour Party politician said this week that the best evidence that Peres is not seriously contemplating that tax is the fact that he made a statement supporting it. "If he had seriously decided in favour of the tax, he would have kept quiet until the time for its imposition had come," the Labour Party man said. By openly admitting the tax was being envisaged, Peres was asking for pressure against such a move.

For reasons similar to those of the Histadrut, other Labour Party ministers should not be as happy as their senior colleague. Except for Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin, to whom Peres will not dare impose a budget cut against his will, all party ministers will have to collaborate with Shimon Peres in curbing the budget.

All this means that some sort of user charges will be introduced in the health system, and that payments will be adopted for education. It also means an almost sure cut in subsidies for basic foodstuffs and public transportation.

But Peres's and Ya'acobi's presence on the budget committee assures that cuts are going to be made in settlement budgets for the territories. By doing so, the wrath of the settlers will probably be insured.

When the dust of the battle for the budget and the economic plan settles, it will be possible to evaluate how much credit can be given to Nissim and how much to Peres. But it is certain that these two men are among the only ones who are happy with developments in the past several weeks.

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TEN YEARS AGO, a group of Jewish activists in the Soviet Union attempted to hold an international conference on Jewish culture in their country. The KGB stopped them. Next week, on the 10th anniversary of that abortive attempt, the Public Council for Soviet Jewry and the World Jewish Congress will sponsor an international conference on Jewish culture and identity in the USSR, to be held at Bar-Ilan University.

The chairman of the conference which wasn't, and of the one which will be, is Professor Benjamin Fain, a physicist now living in Tel Aviv. "We spent almost a year planning the conference in Moscow, and we were careful to do everything in accordance with the law and in full public view. We knew, however, that if we announced in advance where the conference would take place, the KGB would stop it. We therefore told everyone to come to the synagogue in Moscow, and we'd all go together from there."

Fain and the other organizers, however, never got to the synagogue. "As I was leaving the house, the KGB and police appeared and told me to go with them. They kept me at the police station for a few hours and then came home with me to search my apartment."

"They put me under house arrest, telling me not to leave the house until further notice. They kept me under house arrest for three or four days, and exactly the same thing happened to the other organizers and to most of the lecturers."

Those who were not known to the authorities as organizers or lecturers did assemble at the synagogue. "The KGB couldn't interfere there because there were foreign journalists present and for other reasons."

"About 100 people were there and since a few lecturers had been listed in the programme under pseudonyms, and therefore hadn't been arrested, the crowd sponta-

neously decided to go to a nearby private home and start the symposium in protest against our arrest which, by then, was known to them."

On one level, the conference was a failure but, in the long run, Fain thinks it was a success. Russian broadcasts from abroad discussed at length the plans for the symposium, how they were thwarted and how Soviet Jews were affected; the story was widely publicized in the foreign media.

"We did a sociological study at the time and discovered that most Soviet Jews, though they know nothing about being Jewish, were very eager to learn. I think our effort planted a seed and today most Jewish activism in the USSR centres around studying Hebrew, learning Jewish history and religion, and related cultural activities. That's the only hope for us. The Zionists have long since left the Soviet Union and the rest of the Jews will want to run away from being Jewish if all it brings them is suffering and discrimination."

TODAY, Professor Fain said there are about 50 Hebrew teachers in Moscow, with 500 pupils, and about 1,000 *hazrim bishviva*. Aliya activists have become aliya and Jewish culture activists, and even the Soviet authorities have felt compelled to make some gestures such as establishing Yiddish theatre troupes and adding a few pages in Russian to the Yiddish newspaper. (Most Soviet Jews today don't know Yiddish, and those who do often only know how to speak it not how to read, he explained.)

"In 1948, when I was a student in Moscow and wanted to learn Hebrew, the textbook I found in the Lenin Library disappeared on my second visit, and the person who offered to teach me bowed out when I came back the next day for my lesson. People who offered to teach

A tradition that defies the KGB

Lea Levavi



Marking Israel Independence Day in Moscow, photographed by Yigael Gordinetzky in 1978 (Beth Hadebutsoth)

me Yiddish were arrested before they could give me a lesson or books. Today, a student whose desire to learn is as strong as mine was, would have many more possibilities," he said.

Only about half the organizers of the Moscow conference have been able to come to Israel. Those who have arrived are all well established — the majority as professors. Each is active in his own way on behalf of Soviet Jewry but they do not necessarily all work together, nor are they all directly involved in organizing next week's conference.

Professor Yermiyahu Branover, a physicist at Ben-Gurion University

in Beersheba who came here 14 years ago, has his finger very much on the pulse of the current Soviet Jewish cultural scene because he chairs an organization called Shamir — *Shomrei Mitzvot Yotsei Russia* — Observant Jews from Russia.

He and his colleagues provide religious and other Jewish cultural materials in Russian translation and find ways to infiltrate them into the Soviet Union. "The problems with the KGB are not our only problems," he said. "The Russian language has changed so much in the last 70 years that words for concepts like God or miracle carry a tone of ridicule. We have had to revive the

Russian language, aside from everything else."

The 130 books Shamir has translated and printed — including such titles as Yehuda Halevy's *Hakuzari* and the *Ethics of the Fathers* — are in such demand in the USSR that the limited available copies are deliberately torn up so they can be divided among larger numbers of readers. "I would like to see Israelis so eager to read Yehuda Halevy," he said.

ACCORDING to the statistics he has been able to gather, about 5,000 Jews meet regularly in small groups to discuss Jewish topics. "They start by studying Hebrew and Jewish his-

tory but most, whether outsiders like it or not, end up becoming interested in tradition and religion."

"The Soviet authorities want to encourage intermarriage as a 'solution' to the Jewish problem but non-Jewish spouses and children in couples which have joined these study groups are converting to Judaism in large numbers. There are also couples who are beginning to have large families instead of the one child families which are in fashion (among Jews and non-Jews alike) in the European part of the USSR."

This Jewish revival is taking place not only in large cities but also in small outlying towns where it was not expected, he said. "I don't want to mention place names because I don't want to cause trouble for anyone there," he said.

NEXT WEEK'S conference will open on Sunday evening at the president's residence, with more academic deliberations scheduled for Monday and Tuesday.

Subjects to be discussed at the conference cover a wide range of topics related to Jewish culture, from underground literature and religious revival to lectures on how the Soviet regime's treatment of the Jews compares to that of the Germans. And there will be testimony by Soviet immigrants.

Moroccan-born poet Erez Biton will discuss the experiences and impressions he gained during a recent visit to the Soviet Union. Biton said that he had arrived full of fear. "They told me not to make calls to Jews from my hotel, that I would be followed everywhere, that the walls in Jewish homes have ears.... The Soviet Jews were the ones who gave me courage. They wanted to meet with me no matter who didn't like it."

He recorded 15 hours of conversations with Soviet Jews in fluent Heb-

rew. "It was like talking to Israelis. Though they have few books, they force each other to speak Hebrew and manage to develop the vocabulary to express themselves. It's almost as if the difficulties they have learning Hebrew increase their motivation."

The visit to Russia gave him a new perspective on Zionism, he said. "It was like when I was a boy of five and my father told us we were going to Israel. While I was there, in Russia, the experience was uplifting. When it was time to leave, there was a sense of shock. I suddenly realized that I had a plane ticket and could get out, while they had to stay there."

PROFESSOR FAIN wants the conference's message to reach beyond the academics and activists. "I know a conference cannot solve anything, but I hope it will be a beginning toward greater involvement of Israel and the West on behalf of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union."

"The Russians agreed to the Helsinki Accords in return for the West accepting existing borders in Europe but they don't observe the agreement because there isn't enough pressure put on them."

"The subject of cultural genocide of Soviet Jews should be brought up at every international conference on human rights, or at lawyers' conventions, or in every contact with the Soviets. They should be pressured to allow in Jewish books without confiscating them. Such pressure is possible, and would work, and I hope our conference will be a small step toward making it happen."

The media — including Russian broadcasts from the West to the Soviet Union (not least, the Voice of Israel's Russian Service) — are important. "We expect the conference to be talked about among Jewish communities in the West, including Israel, and certainly among Soviet Jews," Fain summed up.

PRIME MINISTER Yitzhak Shamir sounded very reasonable when he asserted in a television interview that there was no chance of a government crisis over the new economic plan, because the cabinet ministers were not divided along party lines.

This was a correct observation, which could have been even more accurate had he added that the Labour members of his cabinet showed him more loyalty than some of his own party. None of the Labour members boycotted meetings he had called and caucuses he chaired; Ariel Sharon did. None of the Labour ministers angrily and demonstratively walked out of a cabinet meeting, rejecting a request by an aide to the premier to return to it; David Levy did.

Shamir had good reason to minimize, in his public appearances, the significance of the events which accompanied the decision-making process in his cabinet. They have demonstrated that the Herut convention is not over, and that the Likud as a whole is suffering from a continuing crisis of leadership which renders the party's ability to govern very questionable.

It is a common assessment among Herut activists that unless the current situation is changed it will be a tough job to run the Likud's next election campaign. Even in Shamir's inner circle, doubts about the future are discreetly expressed.

The fact that Shamir himself appears to be a better prime minister than most observers predicted will have very little effect on the image he and his party will inevitably have as a result of the permanent internal

war of succession. Such a struggle, and its public impact, can destroy even a successful premier. This consideration alone, regardless of the deeper national consequences of the situation, should have led the Herut activists to stop quarrelling and come to terms with each other. But they can't.

MOTIVATED by deep emotions, which are expressed in terms of self-destruction, they continue to fight, notwithstanding that by doing so they are cutting down the tree on which they all lean.

For about two years, Dr. Ze'ev Binjamin Begin has been calling on the two main internal camps — Shamir's and Levy's — to come to terms with each other before it is too late. But they will not follow his wise advice.

Shamir and Levy know that by such an agreement they could thwart Sharon, their common rival, whose ambitions, moral qualities and operational tactics will leave no real place for them once he assumes power. Nevertheless, they cannot agree upon the necessary measures. Their mutual interests have not prevailed over the forces which seem to be tearing the party to pieces from within.

How can it be explained? Are they acting irrationally?

PERHAPS last Sunday's events can supply the answer. David Levy, a deputy prime minister, was so deeply insulted by remarks made by Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe Arens that he stalked out of the cabinet session.

It is irrelevant whether or not he should have felt insulted by those remarks: it is not objective facts but the subjective perception of them that matters in politics. It is also irrelevant whether Levy was really insulted, as he says, or was just pretending to be insulted, as some Arens supporters say. What really matters is the fact that each side accuses the other on communal grounds.

Supporters of Arens were reportedly incensed by what they saw as an "injustice" done to their man by "artificial accusations" made by Levy. They fail to comprehend that it is not a question of justice and injustice, right and wrong, but of using a political argument.

Levy knew, in the light of previous remarks by Arens, that his new accusations had a good chance of being accepted at least by his own constituency.

In the eyes of those who already believe Arens to be a haughty Ashkenazi bigot (that he is not is also irrelevant), Levy's accusations have great credibility. They interpret Arens's apology as proof of his "guilt." In any case, the communal demon has come out of the bottle.

Arens's supporters, the trouble stems from the fact that in the course of Herut's internal struggle for power, communal segregation can be used effectively by one of the front-runners. At least, he had reason to believe that it would help him.

This assessment seems correct, and it explains the difficulty of achieving peace in the party. This is not just a divisive political war of succession, but a deeper process of social disintegration.

It should not be forgotten that Levy was victorious in the internal elections in the party branches. Facing the manipulative techniques and combinations used by Shamir's men, Levy made a tactical alliance with Sharon, and came out as the strongest competitor for the leadership.

What was taken from him — a clear victory in the convention — has been interpreted by many of his followers as depriving him of the crown on a communal basis. For the first time in Israel's history, the national leadership seemed to be close to Sephardi hands, but was unfairly snatched away.

The only way to overcome this credibility gap within the party is by declaring Levy Herut's "crown prince," whose succession to the

throne is already agreed upon.

But even were Shamir ready to do this, many of his own supporters would not allow him to sacrifice Arens, their favourite candidate for the succession. They believe that under Arens's leadership, Herut will be much closer to its original portrait, both ideologically and politically, than under Levy.

This, however, contradicts the very essence of the political operations of Levy's camp, which represents the new Herut working-class, Oriental Israelis whose childhood was spent in *ma'abarot*, the immigrant camps of the Fifties, and now want their proportionate share in the national leadership. Levy is their authentic leader.

THE SOCIAL and the political analysis both lead to the same conclusion: it is doubtful whether a compromise between the Levy and Arens camps is feasible. Rather, a continuation of the political fight on social grounds is foreseeable.

This process must have its impact on both political life and policy-making. It influences political life inside Herut and other parties too, and as Likud circles have noted, cannot fail to impede the Herut-Liberal relationship. The price of

unification with the Liberal Party may be too high for Levy's camp, both politically and socially. But in any case, unification requires the approval of Herut's convention which cannot be reconvened unless agreement is reached between Shamir and Levy.

And it goes even deeper. Even if such agreement were reached, Levy's supporters are not in favour of the Liberals, who politically, socially and mentally are too far from them.

As could be seen in the argument of the Nissim (Liberal) economic plan, some of Levy's supporters are closer to the Histadrut than to the Liberal faction of the Likud. They will not shed tears if the unification agreement, prepared, negotiated and initially agreed upon by none other than Levy himself remains a dead letter; it is doubtful whether Levy will be able to control those supporters.

Time is against the Liberals. If they sit in silence, waiting for Herut until the 1988 election campaign starts, they endanger their very existence. On the eve of the next elections they may have to choose between two dangerous options: either to agree to a substantial reduction in their power; or to take the risk of running on their own ticket, which will inevitably lead to the same result.

Either way, it will not improve the electoral prospects of the Likud, but this time the Liberals will be the main sufferers, losing not only government portfolios, but Knesset seats as well.

ANOTHER ASPECT of Herut's

permanent struggle is its effect on national policy-making. It was mainly a feud with Finance Minister Moshe Nissim that kept Sharon away from the Likud caucus called by Shamir, but this feud itself stems from the Herut fight.

In order to gain more power in the party's central institutions, Sharon appoints as directors in government corporations activists of his own camp and others whom he wants to influence.

Recently, Nissim vetoed several appointments proposed by the industry and trade minister. Sharon failed to dissuade him, and stopped cooperating with him. Thus, the two ministers in charge of Israel's economy are no longer on speaking terms.

The name of the game is power. Sharon expected Shamir to help him twist Nissim's arm, and when he saw that the premier was backing his new enemy, Sharon began to stay away from all Likud ministerial meetings. Charming!

Of course, Sharon does not give such disgraceful personal arguments for his opposition to Nissim's plan. On the army radio, he lectured against listening to gossip, and said that industry in general and exports in particular ought to be given more in a new economic plan. Of course, he never has personal reasons for his positions, which are determined exclusively on their merits, regardless of political profit and loss. Only those who disagree with him have personal and political motivations. Isn't it obvious?

One shouldn't envy Shamir. His is mission impossible.

The unending feud

Arye Naor on the squabbles in Herut

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הכדא מן האהל

The writing on the palm

Telereview / Philip Gillon

THERE USED to be a fighting song of the Wobblies during the Depression, "Hallelujah, I'm a bum," in which the singer pleads, "Give us a handout to revive us again."

The media of the world begged in much the same way for some news about the *in camera* proceedings against Mordechai Vanunu, only to encounter frigid silence from the authorities, who had imposed a complete blackout on reports about the way in which he was brought to Israel. Then Vanunu, unlike the hard-hearted character in the Wobblies song, obliged the poor pressmen with a very literal handout - his palm, full of hints.

I for one am grateful to him for showing us that palm against the window of the police van conveying him to court: it certainly provided us with one of the most dramatic news shots we have seen on ITV this year. Unfortunately, some officious policeman whisked him away before he could give us more details on his other hand.

In passing, by what right, I wonder, could the police compel him to wash his hands before appearing in court? I think his lawyer should apply for a writ of *habeas manus*, or something like that.

Although I am so impressed by Vanunu's method of thumbing his nose at the authorities, I am also disappointed by the brevity of his message. From all the thrillers I have seen, I would have expected him to write the whole story of his abduction on a microdot, which he should then have tattooed, not written, on his palm.

A request by him for permission to consult a palmist about his dubious fate and life-lines would surely have been given sympathetic consideration in democratic and superstitious Israel. It would then have been child's play to gouge out the microdot and palm it off on the divider.

That way, we would have had the full story of the mysterious "Cindy," the luscious and glamorous Mossad agent who, according to the British press, enticed Mordechai to leave the safety of London.

I trust that we will never have to give up the English papers' Cindy and the wonderful orgies in which she engaged with Vanunu on a luxurious yacht until they were in extrajurisdictional waters, when she suddenly pulled out her Mossad card and automatic from her panties, and ordered him to stand against the wall with his hands on his head. At least,

that's how I think it happened.

Personally, I would be profoundly upset if we have to settle for a mere kidnapping at Rome airport, with or without the connivance of the Italian police and secret police. People are kidnapped at Rome airport every Monday and Thursday. There's no fun in that. Whereas the story of the orgies on the yacht is well up to *Return to Eden* or *Dynasty* standards.

ONE OF the absurdities of the Israeli way of life, on which attention has been focused because of Vanunu's hand, is the censorship. Matti Golan, the editor of *Ha'aretz*, reviewed this at length on the five o'clock news, *Erev Hadash*.

He pointed out that censorship of news going to the foreign press has become, from the practical point of view, an absurdity, because of the revolutionary development in means of communication. At one time, a foreign correspondent, wanting to bypass the censor, used to fly to Cyprus or Athens. Now he merely types his story on his word processor, and sends it by computer and telephone straight to his editor.

The censor's job is still effective in Israel. Thus, we were in the curious position of seeing black ink all over Vanunu's palm for 24 hours after the rest of the world had read and interpreted his message.

IT IS CURIOUS that the Vanunu affair should excite so much ribaldry among the citizenry. I am reminded of a woman friend who was having a baby in an Israeli hospital, but was doing so according to the precepts of painless childbirth of Dr. Granthly Dick Reid.

While all around her women were groaning mightily and calling on the Almighty and their mothers to help them to endure their agonies, she went on calmly reading a thriller. The nurse came and looked at her - once, twice, three times. Eventually the nurse could bear it no longer, and burst out, "Madam, this is a very serious business!"

I feel like that about Vanunu: alleged treason is very serious. The story of his spiritual development, as revealed in his diary, is very poignant. In the light of these revelations, the fact that he got a security clearance indicates that somebody somewhere was more than slightly cuckoo. Yet we have only to hear the name "Vanunu" to start sniggering.

PERHAPS IT is because of the sound of that name. I have been assured that the suffix "nun" is very common, respectable and accepted among Moroccan Jews. But for Ashkenazim, it suggests the quizzical Yiddish, "Nu? Nu? What's new?"

It's no good telling me, "What's in a name? that which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet." With all due respect to Juliet, the silly little girl didn't know what she was talking about when she uttered this thought. I'm willing to bet my bottom new shekel that if Romeo had been named Vanunu, she wouldn't have looked at him twice, but would have married her cousin Tybalt, and lived happily ever after.

Marghanita Laski once wrote about reform by nomenclature, when she discovered that British public authorities could not get dustmen. So they advertised for sanitation paraworkers, or something like that, and were flooded with applications. It is a sobering thought that, if the Shin Bet had only made Vanunu change his name before he was taken on at Dimona, he might have been as secretive as the grave about what was going on there.

RAM EVRON said correctly in opening his *This Is The Time* programme this week that Israelis have suddenly discovered the thrills and excitement of the law courts, and have started to make heroes or villains, not only of the accused, but also of judges, prosecutors and defence counsel.

Then he introduced us to Paula Dworin, who prosecuted, among others, Hava Ya'ari. The interchanges between counsel and accused in that case titillated the tabloids for days.

One paper went into ecstasies about the prosecutor's auburn hair, blue eyes and attractive figure. He was right on all counts, but she admitted to being irritated by this line of praise, preferring to get compliments on the professional skill she displayed in court.

In most of the films we see, the heroes and occasional heroines appear for the defence. Ms. Dworin told us that she had wanted to be a prosecuting counsel even before she began to study law. Her description of how she prepares her cross-examination was so impressive that I felt sorry for wrongdoers with whom she deals in the witness-box.

She made one correct observation that reveals the weakness of Perry Mason stories and films based on court cases. In these, the witness is trapped by Perry in a major lie. He

then breaks down, dashes out of court or confesses all. This almost never happens in real life, as Ms. Dworin pointed out. Witnesses stick to their guns, even when it is absurd to do so.

ANOTHER CASE that has captured the attention of the media is that involving an attempt to force Justice Minister Avraham Shari' to honour Israel's international obligations and to observe the rule of law in regard to William Nakash.

I think it is unfair on the part of Israeli hoteliers and others involved in the tourist industry to accuse Tourism Minister Shari' of murdering tourism to Israel: he just happened to be on the spot when the killing took place. But, wearing his other hat, he is certainly trying to assassinate Israel justice, as surely as Brutus and Cassius assassinated Julius Caesar.

One of the demagogic arguments raised by Shari' in his public addresses, and his brief to the court, was that sending Nakash back to France to serve in a French prison was tantamount to sending him to certain death, because the French, particularly the convicts, are such rabid anti-Semites. This was ingenious in its way, because it triggered memories of the Dreyfus trials and of collaborators in the Pétain-Laval days.

Israel Television rather sabotaged the claim by producing the chief rabbi of France, who ridiculed it as absolute nonsense, and said that many Jews, unfortunately, had been in French prisons, but that nary a one of them had been killed there. He was certain that the French authorities would protect Nakash, and added that he was horrified by Shari' turning Israel from a country of law into a refuge for murderers and other criminals. He was right at that.

It is one thing for Shari' to voice his anti-French sentiments in speeches to the many-headed multitude; it is another to submit them as facts to the High Court of Justice. The person I was most sorry for this week was Assistant State Attorney Nili Arad, compelled to argue Shari' point of view.

I AM enjoying Shmuel Shai's game show, *United or Divided*. I was astonished to see so many spouses who know by ESP what their spouses are thinking. And *Spenser* gave us another satisfactory episode. Last Friday night's film, *Four Friends*, about America in the Sixties, was unusually good.

So, one way and another, we have had a reasonably entertaining week.

bags of purple passion. As drama, this show is endowed with a certain depth of vision. But structurally it is very slight, for which reason the full force of its message hardly reaches us. It consists of a lightly-connected collection of cinematic sequences controlled by an old-time director (Lindsay Kemp), a kind of circus-master, who manages the magic of the celluloid as well as the lives of his actor-mariettes, making films on an old-time set. Based on the film-maker's rhythm of "Lights!" "Out!", the dominant beat is translated into action, in the hectic, jerky, jumped-up pattern of the first films.

As always in Kemp's closely-knit company, the acting and ensemble work is on a virtuoso scale. The actors rise to moments of magnificence in such scenes as the World War I battlefield, amok with blood and bayonets, or that of the returning Tommy, in a take-off of the Lady of the Camellias, where authentic pathos reached a peak. The trouble is there are not too many peaks. Which is to say that the material is less organized than the implementation. It misses out on all the essential elements of strong drama - contrast, conflict, suspense, climax, etc. - the rules of the game being disregarded at the cost of theatrical conviction. The only dramatic progression here is towards the Age of Noise, an explosive scene in which the synthesizer fills the auditorium with ear-racking sound that blots out whatever is happening onstage.

In other words, much was wonderful even if too many of the effects didn't rise above cliché. The erotic was, as always, there though in modified form. In one short orgy scene, no longer carries the hot breath of scandal. Although the inimitable Lindsay Kemp still dazzles with his virtuosity, his superb acting gift, sad to say, his show this time somewhat smacked of jaded, backward-looking inspiration.

NAOMI DOUDAI



Joseph's tomb at Shechem (today's Nablus).

In and out of jail

Tora Today / Pinhas H. Peli

The Tora reading for this week is Vayeshev (Genesis 37:1-40:23).

BECAUSE OF the dramatic meeting of Joseph and Pharaoh and its far-reaching results, we tend to gloss over the story which precedes it. But it is here, in the story of Joseph in prison, that a crucial turning point in the entire saga of the forthcoming Exodus takes place.

Being thrown into prison for an indefinite term because of a libelous accusation would spell despair and doom for many a person. With Joseph's accusers representing the highest echelons of Egyptian society and he himself being a destitute, all but forgotten lone slave, he stood no chance of ever again seeing the light of freedom. Nevertheless, the long years Joseph spent in prison did not transform him, as expected, into "human dust," but are marked, according to the Tora narrative, by two main characteristics: proficiency and hope.

We do not have a full description of what an ancient Egyptian prison was like. The fact that Joseph was put into *beit hasohar* - where all the king's prisoners were bound (Genesis 39:23) - does not tell us whether this was a better, special 5-star establishment as compared with other prisons, or was one worse than the others. According to Ibn Ezra (1089-1164) *beit hasohar* is an Egyptian phrase and the addition, "where all the king's prisoners are bound," does not single out this prison as being special, but simply explains to the Hebrew reader what *beit hasohar* means.

Ramban (Nahmanides 1194-1270) does not accept Ibn Ezra's explanation, but suggests instead that this was a special, royal, prison and the sense of the description is to prepare us for the appearance in the same place of the royal butler and baker. Ramban further quotes "the linguists" (referring to Radak-R' David Kimhi; in his Book of Roots under the term *sohar*) to explain *beit hasohar* in a way that gives us an inkling of the appearance of that prison. *Beit hasohar* would mean accordingly, "the arched chamber as *sohar* means also the crescent moon."

Ramban himself prefers his own etymological understanding of *beit hasohar* as "an underground chamber having a small opening above ground, through which the prisoners are lowered and which provides light." The word *sohar* is thus derived, according to Ramban, from the word *sahar*, "light" in Aramaic, or *sohar* in Hebrew, mentioned in the prescription for the ark of Noah "A *sohar* shall thou make to the ark" (ibid., 6:16), and explained as a skylight or other means of bringing light into the ark. From the same root is the word *soharayim*, midday, when the sun reaches its zenith. The difference between *sohar* and *sohar* is that *sohar* connotes an abundance of light, while *sohar* connotes minimal light.

Be that as it may, the *beit hasohar* into which Joseph was thrown, cutting off abruptly the beginning of a career which he began to build for himself in the new country, was not the most cheerful place conducive to bring out the best in a person's character. It did not, however, effect Joseph's behaviour which was testimony to both his proficiency and staunch hope in the future.

WITHIN A SHORT while after his being jailed, Joseph manages to become the foreman of all the other prisoners (39:23) and "whatsoever they did there he was the doer of it." Whichever way one understands this awkward expression, translating the words *v'kol asher hem osim sham hu haya oseh*, it puts Joseph in a leading position within the prison. His good relationship with the other prisoners is either because he was doing their job for them, or that all the work was done under his instructions (Rashi following the targum), or that, although he was the foreman, he did not instruct others to do any kind of work without also doing it himself. "Whatsoever they did, he did too."

The turning point takes place with the appearance in prison of two of the top officials of Pharaoh (chapter 40, verses 1-20): "And it came to pass after these things that the butler of the king of Egypt and the baker offended their Lord the king of Egypt." This was of course part of God's scheme in ordering the events that would lead to the rest of the story. Rashi explains that the opening words "After these things" connect this story to the one preceding it. After the scandal concerning Joseph and the wife of his employer, the Almighty brought about this event in order to divert the gossip and thoughts of the people from the story of Joseph and Potifera to the new scandal now occupying the headlines.

The story starts with the offence committed by the butler and baker of the king and ends with the imprisonment not of the offenders themselves, but of the Lord of Butlers and the Lord of Bakers. Pharaoh acted in accordance with the rule of ministerial responsibility, where no chief can claim that he did not know of or that he is not responsible for the misconduct of his subordinates.

We can easily imagine how those two pompous lords related to the poor slave Joseph. Although they were now fellow prisoners, Joseph was appointed to serve their lordships. He did serve them patiently for a whole year (verse 4, Rashi), before they gave him a chance to talk to them. It was not until he saw them going around with long sad faces because of the dreams they had on the night before. Even then, they would not speak to their servant until he convinced them to do so, by arguing that all interpretations of dreams belong to God, who may reveal his secrets even through a simple person.

In interpreting their dreams Joseph does not pretend to be what he is not, or as one hiding his true identity. He tells them that he was "stolen away from the land of the Hebrews." A fact he would not hide, although it might have greatly jeopardized his future. It is not that he was pouring his heart out and telling everything. He was rather selective in the information he divulged about himself. He does not tell, for instance, that his brothers betrayed him and sold him as a slave.

This might have helped his position, but would have put his brothers in a bad light, and he did not wish to profit by the humiliation of his brothers in the eyes of strangers.

The interpretations of the two dreams offered by Joseph clearly distinguish between that of the chief butler, and that of the chief baker, although the content of the two dreams was strikingly similar. Numerous attempts were made by Tora commentators to discover the reasons for the thoroughly different interpretations. One school points to an obvious difference between the two dreams: The chief butler is constantly active: "I took... I pressed... I gave, etc." while the chief baker is utterly passive throughout his dream: he does not knead the bread does not bake it and does not even drive away the birds that come to eat it out of the basket on his head. The story of Joseph is replete with examples that God helps those who help themselves, those that are actively involved in bringing about their own salvation rather than those who sit back passively, waiting for it to come about.

Joseph is portrayed in the Midrash as the paradigm of the person who "trusts in God." He was also the person who tried to use his connections with people in high places to help him. Is this relying on the aid of people an example of trust in God? The answer to this well-known contradiction is that real trust in God necessitates the use of all possible human resources that are available, but knowing all along that human trust is unreliable after all, and would not work without the intervention of God. "And the chief butler did not remember Joseph, but forgot him" (verse 20). One commentator interprets: the chief butler did not remember Joseph, and Joseph soon forgot him, realizing that, although one must utilize the opportunities that come his way, in the long run it is hope and trust in God that count.

Hugo Gryn, now a prominent London rabbi, tells the following about his experience in a concentration camp in *Der Morgen*, a magazine published in Germany after the second world war: I did not learn this lesson in a theological college (this came much later), but in a miserable little concentration camp in German Silesia grotesquely called Leibesros, "Lovely Rose." "It was the cold winter of 1944 and although we had nothing like calendars, my father, who was my fellow prisoner there, took me and some of our friends to a corner in our barrack. He announced that it was the eve of Hanukkah, produced a curious-shaped clay bowl, and began to light a wick immersed in his precious but now melted, margarine ration. Before he could recite the blessing, I protested at this waste of food. He looked at me, then at the lamp, and finally said: "You and I have seen that it is possible to live up to three weeks without food. We once lived almost three days without water. But you cannot live properly for three minutes without hope!"

Rabbi Peli is Blechner Professor of Jewish thought and literature, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

Kemp on parade

THE BIG PARADE - A Performance by Lindsay Kemp with Carlos Miranda. Direction, Lindsay Kemp; Music, Carlos Miranda; Choreography, Zoltan Imre; Sets, Lindsay Kemp. Jerusalem Theatre.

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production is, but, like early film, not altogether soundless, for substituting the power of the word are multiple sound effects including a real, live Palm Court Orchestra planted in the pit. The use of lighting has a prime place, so intense and expressive that it "talks."

This is a sentimental, retrospective, somewhat subjective work, stained with satire and saturated with the sadness of an artist who, looking back, sees the terrible truth behind the melodrama spawned by the moguls of early entertainment and who, with the advent of the talkies, sees his own and society's dream bubbles burst.

It is a depressive and destructive

world view, underlined by sombre colours in a stage set executed in a range of blacks, whites, tones of grey relieved by flecks of gold and Kemp's usual and irrepressible showers of glamour sequins and sparkles. As a dramatic evocation of a period it is perfect in every detail. The detritus of post-World War I, of early Hollywood, it is all there, its decadence projected in bitter, biting contours: Prohibition, orgies, cocktails, the Charleston age, furs, feathers and frills, satin sheets for the star, shades of Rudolf Valentino, Mary Pickford, Charlie Chaplin, Clara Bow and, at the end, Al Jolson and the Ziegfeld Follies. Debauchery, dark jealousy, extravagant emotion,

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הכנסת האחרונה

Teaching a course on Mapam

Jerusalem Post Knesset reporter
Dvorah Getzler interviews Mapam's
first-time MK Amira Sartani

MAPAM suffers from all the disabilities of an old party and faces all the challenges of a new one, according to Amira Sartani, a first-term MK from the Kibbutz Artzi heartland of her party, Kibbutz Merhavia.

She was sad, rather than angry, when asked whether Mapam really exists outside the Kibbutz Artzi movement.

"Certainly. But we face a problem in that urban Jewish voters are suspicious of us because we're a Jewish-Arab party, and Arab voters are leery because we're also a Zionist party."

Mapam, she says, is gaining ground among Arab voters not least because of its educational work in Arab towns and villages, where it runs 50 of only some 200 pre-school kindergartens. That provides a direct line to Arab women whose importance Sartani stresses.

"There is today an entire generation of Arab women, educated at least through high school, and some even further, who seize eagerly on the political side of our work and take an active part. We have also been able to do important work in bringing Arab and Jewish women together."

The old idea of an urban party branch where people meet for activities, information sharing and the like, is, of course, out-of-date. Today the branches must be organizational centres. Our problem is that because we were so long part of the Labour Alignment, a generation has grown up that doesn't know anything of Mapam."

(Mapam left the Alignment after the 1984 election when Labour went into coalition with the Likud to form the national unity government.)

"We're making some sort of comeback, particularly in championing dismissed workers in plants that are being closed - Ata and the shipyards, for example. Yes, those people do stay on with us and do remain active. Where we have difficulties

with them is, of course, in getting them to appreciate our stance on Arab rights and the Israel-Arab problem. Negative stereotypes are apparently too firmly grounded for us to make anything other than very, very slow headway in that direction."

"I recall Yair Tzaban arguing with one such new central committee member: 'But this is Mapam, and you can't refuse to accept Arabs,' Tzaban told him. 'Mapam's a democratic body, and those are my views: being anti-Arab is in our blood,' the man answered."

Sartani believes that there are far more people who agree with Mapam's views than are ready to join the party.

"Anyway, party membership isn't something very widespread today, in any party. But we can't let up. And I don't believe that Mapam's superfluous, that we can run along on the two big parties alone, as some people think. If I thought that, I wouldn't be working so hard in the Knesset."

"You wouldn't believe the amount of work we six Mapam MKs have to put in. And it doesn't end with the work in the plenum and the committees. On the days when the Knesset doesn't meet, my diary is packed with appointments throughout the country; in my case, particularly in schools, since my special field of interest is education."

Sartani says she is invited to talk in many schools. The only time she had any difficulty was in her kibbutz's neighbouring town, Afula, where a school asked her to help solve a certain problem.

"But the mayor of Afula is Likud MK Ovadia Eli. When he heard that I was going to be involved, he sent out the word in no uncertain terms, and suddenly, I wasn't wanted."

SARTANI belongs to the militant Mapam group that, even prior to the split with Labour, advocated dismantling the Alignment.



Mapam MKs Amira Sartani (extreme right) and Yair Tzaban (left) present 10,000 postcards supporting their stand against racism. (Rabbinic Israeli)

Can Mapam be sure it will be represented in the next Knesset without that partnership with Labour?

"Yes, although perhaps we may form some loose alliance with the Citizens Rights Movement, which could be an association built on a very low common denominator. We have, for example, more or less the same ideas on foreign affairs, defence, and human rights. But, of course, there'd be problems with some CRM leaders' views on socialism."

Why should the CRM be more acceptable to Mapam than Labour's supermarket of views?

"I wouldn't for a minute claim that everyone sees things as I do. The internal Mapam argument over cooperation within the Alignment is by no means settled. And we're still with Labour in the Histadrut."

"My answer to those who think Mapam should form part of a Labour Alignment would be, 'Come and have a close-up look at political life as it's played out here in the

Knesset. That should prove you wrong.' The Kibbutz Artzi is a major component of Mapam and the vast majority of its members have no contact at all with the rough and tumble of politics."

She heaves a huge sigh when asked to say what most annoys her about the Labour Party.

"It's not even worth talking about the territories - the strongest strong-arm ever - and that that should come from a Labour leader!"

"But the really crucial issue is Labour's refusal to recognize outright the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. It was Mapam that was responsible for the Alignment election platform formula that talked of territorial compromise as a basis for peace."

"Then there's Labour's feeble stand on economic and social policy."

"We were in Labour's pocket for too long, and our values were simply ignored, by sheer weight of numbers against us. Labour's acceptance of the Likud's Golan and Jerusalem

laws were cases in point. They didn't have to vote approval for the Lebanon War, did they?"

"In all its years in office, Labour did nothing to ensure that the Arabs really enjoy equality - not in Labour's land policies, not with economic help. They can't even spare more than one seat for an Arab MK."

"After the last elections, we believed the time had come to establish a new Zionist-Socialist front. Of course there are plenty in Labour who feel the same way. But their strength is being dissipated steadily by the partnership with Likud."

"The present economic plan - a classic capitalist programme if ever there was one - is an example of the erosion of Labour's principles. And all that just to stay in power. What I very much fear is that it won't end with the next election. Coalition government spreads the weight of responsibility and that apparently attracts many in Labour."

"For Mapam, or for some of us at least, the continuation of that type of



Amira Sartani (PPA)

coalition creates a very real danger of Zionism dying before it has fulfilled its mission, not just towards the State of Israel, but towards the Jewish people as a whole."

Sartani would like to see the political map more sharply drawn along lines of principle. She wouldn't be prepared to stay in active politics if Mapam rejoined the Labour Alignment as it is presently constituted, she says.

SHE CAME to politics relatively late, when she was 45. That was 10 years ago, when she moved to Mapam headquarters to lead the women's division and found, to her horror, that it was neither very important nor very influential.

She overcame that by patiently insisting that the division have a say in the movement's senior bodies. At the same time boosting its own work, cooperating with Na'amat, and moving into the Arab sector.

Being a woman is a hindrance to taking up public office, she says, even in a kibbutz.

"The stereotypes of what's expected of women are implanted very early and it will take years of endless patient work to uproot them. My youngest daughter was eight when I went to work for the movement, and she used to tell people - not altogether as a joke - that she was orphaned of her mother. Other kibbutz members aren't slow to let you know, directly or indirectly, that perhaps you aren't as good a woman, a wife, a mother, as you should be, or would be, if you stayed at home."

Born in Merhavia of parents who were "almost" its founders, Sartani was its first-ever woman secretary, in 1970. She was also, for many years, the head of the kibbutz's high school.

The move to the Knesset has not been easy, though she makes a point of taking her turn in the kibbutz duty roster. On the day she talked to *The Jerusalem Post* she had just seen her youngest child, daughter number two, off to the IDF to start her military service.

Nor has the move met all her expectations of "being at the centre of political life and able to influence the important decisions." For that, she blames "the plenum's increasing lack of respect for itself. The government is running us, rather than the other way round."

"Luckily, in the Education Committee, which was my choice, the Likud members don't take too much part, and the active members are left-wingers with whom I see eye-to-eye. We do get some response, too, from Education Minister Yitzhak Navon, even if it's sometimes slow."

"But, yes, it has been disappointing, and frustrating. I fear the way we're headed is really threatening the country's democracy. Apart from ignoring the Knesset, the government is also ignoring itself. Decisions are taken by only a very small group, as we recently saw in the Iran episode. The finance minister has the country by the throat. We're moving towards a dangerous lack of regard for the individual, a dangerous failure to offer the most elementary services."

Sartani ducked a question about Mapam's failure to field any young MKs - Labour, she indicated, obviously offered a better springboard to a career because of its size and scope, and the CRM had the advantage of projecting a youthful image. Youngsters in Mapam had been held back by the alignment with Labour, she said.

But she still believes Mapam has something to offer a younger generation of voters - an emphasis on equality and an attitude to a free West Bank that would permit the Palestinians independence within some form of partnership with Jordan, at least until they prove their peaceful intent towards Israel.

But whether Sartani will be in the Knesset to represent such views in the future remains a question mark, for her personally, as well as for the voters.

Rosenzweig's legacy: emergence of a new kind of Jew

Elhanan Blumenthal

THIS WEEK WE commemorate the 100th birthday of Franz Rosenzweig, the last great thinker of German Jewry before the Holocaust, who became a legend in his lifetime.

This great Jewish philosopher was not only an outstanding son of our people, but symbolized a completely new type of Jew - mistrustful of accepted formulas, with a deeply-rooted urge to discover truth behind appearances and to seek the perennial newness of the ancient heritage. Rosenzweig personified that rare kind of modern Jew who, while thoroughly involved in the culture of the world around him, rediscovered the need for full Jewishness. Like another great *ba'al shuva* and former teacher of his, Hermann Cohen, Rosenzweig sought and found a novel road to an authentic Jewish way of life.

Franz Rosenzweig was born in Kassel on the fourth day of Hanukkah on December 25, 1886, into a wealthy, all but assimilated family. His doctoral thesis on Hegel and the state became a standard work in German philosophical circles and was highly lauded by his teacher, Meisner.

It was during his service in the 1914-18 war that he first gave active expression to his thirst for knowledge of Judaism and his people. In 1917 he wrote his first *Epistle* addressed to Hermann Cohen. In it, he criticized the inadequate state of Jewish education in a manner that eventually led to the foundation of the Academy of Jewish Learning.

Privately he remarked: "I am not at all interested in either party (the Zionists or the Central Union of German citizens of the Jewish Faith). I only wish that both Zionists and assimilationists would become a bit more Jewish. That's why I wrote this open letter."

This epistle ushered in the first stage of Rosenzweig's return to Judaism, a period which centred entirely around what he called the doctrine of Judaism i.e., simply the assiduous and sustained learning of the Torah. It culminated in his famous philosophical work *The Star of Redemption*, in which he presented his basic philosophical system grounded in the fundamentals: God, man and world and their relation to revelation, creation and redemption. "Absolutely nothing Jewish should be alien to me," he said to Martin Buber. No more discriminating between "essential" or "inessential" as we were persuaded to do throughout the 19th century.

In the "inessential" we must now recognize the essence, as it confronts us in the reality of Jewish life."

IN 1920, ROSENZWEIG moved to Frankfurt-on-Main. For eight years he had been confined to the attic of a friend's house, afflicted by a pernicious form of sclerosis which slowly deprived him of bodily movement. The use of his hands and of speech. Having lost the ability to write and later, even to speak, he indicated the letters on a specially constructed



machine to his wife who then transcribed them.

His literary achievements during these years are legendary: to mention only two: his translation of Yehuda Halevi's poems and his collaboration with Buber on a new German translation of the Bible which reached the book of Isaiah one month before his death in 1929. Throughout those years, when his friends and admirers assembled for Sabbath or weekday prayers, the walls of his book-lined sitting-room witnessed what our liturgy calls "the wonders of every day, evening, morning and noon." It is said that his face literally radiated joy and happiness when a friend placed the tefillin on his head.

Practical observance now complemented his unique individualistic approach and profound attachment to the land and people of Israel. His contact with the great Rabbi Nehemia A. Nobel of Frankfurt deepened his involvement in Jewish learning and teaching - subsequently leading

to the establishment of the Lehrschaule - but above all crystallized what he called "the central problem of my life" - the Law. The second stage of his life had commenced.

To him, knowledge of Jewish doctrine entailed life and action according to the precepts of the Torah. This change of heart was not caused by any dramatic event. His *reshuva* was part of his philosophical cogency: his understanding of the inseparable unity of doctrine and Law.

Rosenzweig rebelled against any narrow definition of Judaism, ethical, judicial or theological. His incisive approach can be discerned in his extensive correspondence with Eugen Rosenstock, who became a Christian.

TO ROSENZWEIG, the desirable type of Jew was Jewish with every fibre of his being, one who thought, felt, and acted "in the Law." But the law he had in mind was not the "Western orthodoxy of a past century" but the law taught, practised, deeply thought out and

praised for thousands of years, rich in legends as in catastrophe, the cradle of Akiva, Spinoza and the Baal Shem.

Rejecting all convenient ideologies, he rejected Liberal Judaism and S. R. Hirsch's Neo-Orthodoxy alike. "The Law cannot be disposed of with a simple 'Yes' or 'No' as it were, arguing from 'pseudo-historical' origins or from pseudo-judicial theory of obligation of Hirsch's Orthodoxy." Rosenzweig also dismissed the ethical theory of neighbourhood love "with which Geiger's Liberalism decorated the front of the new business and dwelling places of emancipated Jewry."

Such is the tenor of Rosenzweig's remarkable appeal to Buber in 1923, that he too enter the "second stage" of observance of Jewish Law. They had cooperated so closely in Jewish learning and translating that he now sought a continuation of the partnership with Buber in the reality of Jewish living. He appealed to Buber in the epistle entitled *The Builders* (*Die Bauleute*) based on the biblical

motto: "and all thy children shall be taught of the Lord," which was annotated by the sages: "Do not read 'banayich' i.e., thy children, but 'banayich' i.e., thy builders."

Rosenzweig taught as a matter of principle, that no domain in life need be sacrificed; custom and content have equal rank. Abstaining from work on the Sabbath or abstaining from consuming forbidden foods combines with "the satisfaction of being able to remain a Jew in the humdrum of material existence."

Rosenzweig realized that we can only become builders of a Jewish reality if we actively continue the creative work of our past cultural history in all its manifestations, through learning Jewish doctrine and living Jewish law. Hence, the critical difference between doctrine and law is that a return to doctrine can be consummated by an introspective awakening, a purely mental process. Law can only be actualised by action. "Action does not permit of a retreat," he says, "it can only advance...unlike knowledge it does

not gain depth by looking back, but becomes romantic in character, or plainly a falsehood..."

At the beginning of his return to Judaism, he viewed the "fence around the law" critically, though he soon realised that the inhospitable fence only appears as such from the outside. Once one enters the beauty of a totally Jewish life - the precious treasure garden, as he came to appreciate it - one realizes the need of a fence against the inroads of the trivial and the callous.

Despite the wealth of his writing, his influence was ultimately restricted to a small circle, his physical suffering preventing him from becoming that great teacher the Jewish people needed. Too great to be forced into any category, his legacy remains to be understood in our time. His pioneering spirit, his courage, and moral resourcefulness can serve as a guide for contemporary Jewish intellectuals, who, estranged from religious values and practice yet feel the need for Jewish knowledge.

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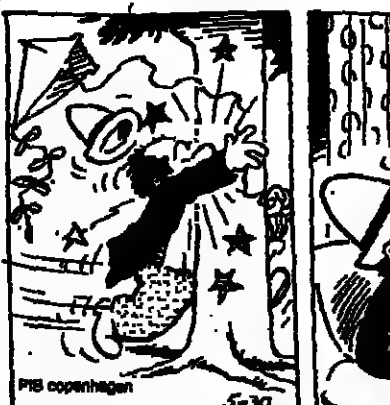
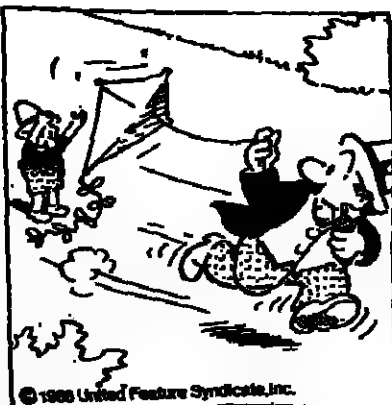
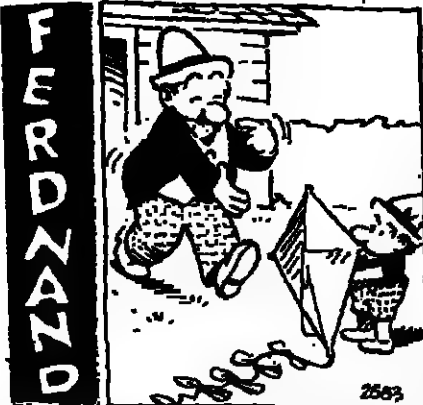
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then all-giauce. Meanwhile, the



However, it may also have given some Dutch Jews a false sense of security, willing them to believe that if Dutch gentiles went on strike to protest against anti-Jewish measures, then they would also protect their Jews. This was clearly impossible, since Holland was geographically in a difficult position, surrounded by Germany, the sea and occupied Belgium.

In my own case, the bank where I worked advised me to leave and offered to pay 75 per cent of my salary for a year, 50 per cent the following year and 25 per cent for the third year. Their offer was generous considering that I had been at the

For the heroic Dutch who gave shelter to Jews, no praise is sufficient. For the Dutch as a people, the French description, "not too much praise, neither too much blame," seems more fitting.

Notices in this column, which appear every Friday, cost NIS 8.15 per line, including VAT, per insertion, or NIS 24.50 per line, including VAT, per month.

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

Netanya: Laniado

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Unemployed workers for general electronic systems in textile plant, Ramat Gan, 07-15-01/02/03/04/05/06/07/08/09/10/11/12/13/14/15/16/17/18/19/20/21/22/23/24/25/26/27/28/29/30/31/32/33/34/35/36/37/38/39/40/41/42/43/44/45/46/47/48/49/50/51/52/53/54/55/56/57/58/59/60/61/62/63/64/65/66/67/68/69/70/71/72/73/74/75/76/77/78/79/80/81/82/83/84/85/86/87/88/89/90/91/92/93/94/95/96/97/98/99/100/101/102/103/104/105/106/107/108/109/110/111/112/113/114/115/116/117/118/119/120/121/122/123/124/125/126/127/128/129/130/131/132/133/134/135/136/137/138/139/140/141/142/143/144/145/146/147/148/149/150/151/152/153/154/155/156/157/158/159/160/161/162/163/164/165/166/167/168/169/170/171/172/173/174/175/176/177/178/179/180/181/182/183/184/185/186/187/188/189/190/191/192/193/194/195/196/197/198/199/200/201/202/203/204/205/206/207/208/209/210/211/212/213/214/215/216/217/218/219/220/221/222/223/224/225/226/227/228/229/230/231/232/233/234/235/236/237/238/239/240/241/242/243/244/245/246/247/248/249/250/251/252/253/254/255/256/257/258/259/260/261/262/263/264/265/266/267/268/269/270/271/272/273/274/275/276/277/278/279/280/281/282/283/284/285/286/287/288/289/290/291/292/293/294/295/296/297/298/299/300/301/302/303/304/305/306/307/308/309/310/311/312/313/314/315/316/317/318/319/320/321/322/323/324/325/326/327/328/329/330/331/332/333/334/335/336/337/338/339/340/341/342/343/344/345/346/347/348/349/350/351/352/353/354/355/356/357/358/359/360/361/362/363/364/365/366/367/368/369/370/371/372/373/374/375/376/377/378/379/380/381/382/383/384/385/386/387/388/389/390/391/392/393/394/395/396/397/398/399/400/401/402/403/404/405/406/407/408/409/410/411/412/413/414/415/416/417/418/419/420/421/422/423/424/425/426/427/428/429/430/431/432/433/434/435/436/437/438/439/440/441/442/443/444/445/446/447/448/449/450/451/452/453/454/455/456/457/458/459/460/461/462/463/464/465/466/467/468/469/470/471/472/473/474/475/476/477/478/479/480/481/482/483/484/485/486/487/488/489/490/491/492/493/494/495/496/497/498/499/500/501/502/503/504/505/506/507/508/509/510/511/512/513/514/515/516/517/518/519/520/521/522/523/524/525/526/527/528/529/530/531/532/533/534/535/536/537/538/539/540/541/542/543/544/545/546/547/548/549/550/551/552/553/554/555/556/557/558/559/560/561/562/563/564/565/566/567/568/569/570/571/572/573/574/575/576/577/578/579/580/581/582/583/584/585/586/587/588/589/590/591/592/593/594/595/596/597/598/599/600/601/602/603/604/605/606/607/608/609/610/611/612/613/614/615/616/617/618/619/620/621/622/623/624/625/626/627/628/629/630/631/632/633/634/635/636/637/638/639/640/641/642/643/644/645/646/647/648/649/650/651/652/653/654/655/656/657/658/659/660/661/662/663/664/665/666/667/668/669/670/671/672/673/674/675/676/677/678/679/680/681/682/683/684/685/686/687/688/689/690/691/692/693/694/695/696/697/698/699/700/701/702/703/704/705/706/707/708/709/710/711/712/713/714/715/716/717/718/719/720/721/722/723/724/725/726/727/728/729/730/731/732/733/734/735/736/737/738/739/740/741/742/743/744/745/746/747/748/749/750/751/752/753/754/755/756/757/758/759/760/761/762/763/764/765/766/767/768/769/770/771/772/773/774/775/776/777/778/779/780/781/782/783/784/785/786/787/788/789/790/791/792/793/794/795/796/797/798/799/800/801/802/803/804/805/806/807/808/809/810/811/812/813/814/815/816/817/818/819/820/821/822/823/824/825/826/827/828/829/830/831/832/833/834/835/836/837/838/839/840/841/842/843/844/845/846/847/848/849/850/851/852/853/854/855/856/857/858/859/860/861/862/863/864/865/866/867/868/869/870/871/872/873/874/875/876/877/878/879/880/881/882/883/884/885/886/887/888/889/890/891/892/893/894/895/896/897/898/899/900/901/902/903/904/905/906/907/908/909/910/911/912/913/914/915/916/917/918/919/920/921/922/923/924/925/926/927/928/929/930/931/932/933/934/935/936/937/938/939/940/941/942/943/944/945/946/947/948/949/950/951/952/953/954/955/956/957/958/959/960/961/962/963/964/965/966/967/968/969/970/971/972/973/974/975/976/977/978/979/980/981/982/983/984/985/986/987/988/989/990/991/992/993/994/995/996/997/998/999/1000/1001/1002/1003/1004/1005/1006/1007/1008/1009/1010/1011/1012/1013/1014/1015/1016/1017/1018/1019/1020/1021/1022/1023/1024/1025/1026/1027/1028/1029/1030/1031/1032/1033/1034/1035/1036/1037/1038/1039/1040/1041/1042/1043/1044/1045/1046/1047/1048/1049/1050/1051/1052/1053/1054/1055/1056/1057/1058/1059/1060/1061/1062/1063/1064/1065/1066/1067/1068/1069/1070/1071/1072/1073/1074/1075/1076/1077/1078/1079/1080/1081/1082/1083/1084/1085/1086/1087/1088/1089/1090/1091/1092/1093/1094/1095/1096/1097/1098/1099/1100/1101/1102/1103/1104/1105/1106/1107/1108/1109/1110/1111/1112/1113/1114/1115/1116/1117/1118/1119/1120/1121/1122/1123/1124/1125/1126/1127/1128/1129/1130/1131/1132/1133/1134/1135/1136/1137/1138/1139/1140/1141/1142/1143/1144/1145/1146/1147/1148/1149/1150/1151/1152/1153/1154/1155/1156/1157/1158/1159/1160/1161/1162/1163/1164/1165/1166/1167/1168/1169/1170/1171/1172/1173/1174/1175/1176/1177/1178/1179/1180/1181/1182/1183/1184/1185/1186/1187/1188/1189/1190/1191/1192/1193/1194/1195/1196/1197/1198/1199/1200/1201/1202/1203/1204/1205/1206/1207/1208/1209/1210/1211/1212/1213/1214/1215/1216/1217/1218/12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The search for meaning through discussion: Nora Zitta (Austria), Patrice Brodeur (Canada), Gunvor Kylen (Sweden) and Nisan Chavkin (U.S.) (Aliza Auerbach)

Meetings of two faiths

Haim Shapiro

THE MONTH of December, with the concurrence of Hanukkah and Christmas, has become a period devoted by many to interfaith understanding.

Thus it should come as no surprise that during the last few days Jerusalem should have been the venue for a number of events in which Jews and Christians try to draw a little closer to each other or, failing that, at least to keep the lines of communication open.

Among these events have been an international Young Leadership Conference, sponsored by the International Conference of Christians and Jews (ICCCJ); the presentation, made by President Chaim Herzog, of a special award for interfaith work to Father Marcel Dubois, head of the department of philosophy of the Hebrew University; and a visit by a group of French priests involved in similar work.

The Young People's Conference, at the Sapir Centre for the Study of Jewish Heritage, brought together over 60 participants from 13 countries, including Eastern Europe. Early this week, only the East German delegates had still not arrived. The participants came prepared to engage in a frank interchange.

"My name is Gunvor Kylen," one young woman told her fellow participants at the opening session, devoted to Identity and Commitment. "It is a typically Swedish name, and my parents named me that so that people would not know I was Jewish. I am Jewish."

It was, she said, an identity difficult to define in Sweden, a country which is not religious in character. But she was active in the Jewish community and Jewish organizations. She was prepared to fight, to argue, in defending this identity, while at the same time, finding "new ways of looking at people."

Patrice Brodeur, a 22-year-old French Canadian, told the delegates that he himself was still trying to discover his own identity. "My name means embroiderer and my life has many threads, many moments of perception."

He was, he continued, first a human being, second a Christian and finally a Quebecois. In his Christianity, he tried to follow the example of Jesus rather than a "doctrinal approach." But he was still struggling to find the "ultimate meaning."

Nisan Chavkin, from the United States, saw his Judaism as a part of his "existential problems." In his search for truth, he said, he was very much aware that there are "many versions of truth."

Nora Zitta, an Austrian, described herself as "an agnostic and a bit of a pantheist." Coming from a socialist family and active in the socialist youth movement, she was "concerned with the things that happen around me." She was interested in religion, she said, "because it is important to people."

LIKE OTHER such groups, the members of the ICCJ Conference will visit Yad Vashem.

For Father Bernard Dupuy, secretary of the French Bishops Council for Relations with Judaism, it was important that the group of Catholic priests he headed, as guests of the Sephardic Federation, had made a "long visit" to the memorial for the Holocaust and had prayed in the synagogue there.

Dupuy also told *The Jerusalem Post* that the French group had met with Sephardic Chief Rabbi Mordechai Eliahu, who, he said, had approached them in a straightforward manner, without "complicated attitudes." He spoke, Dupuy added, "on a very religious level."

It was such a meeting, and a similar one with Religious Affairs Minister Zevulun Hammer, which gave Dupuy hope that Catholics could develop "a personal relationship with the people of Israel, and even religious people, not just the secular."

For almost 2,000 years, Dupuy admitted, the attitude of Christians to the Jewish People was not what it should have been. But now, he said, "we have made a *hashbon nefesh*," using the Hebrew term for a spiritual reappraisal.

Dupuy is obviously sympathetic to Israeli hopes for full diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Israel, although, like other Roman Catholic spokesmen, he insists that the Holy See already "recognizes" the Jewish State in many different ways.

In another level, he says that religious recognition of the Jewish People is a prerequisite for political recognition of the State of Israel and he implies that "religious recognition" was manifested in last year's visit by Pope John Paul to the Rome synagogue. Politically, Dupuy insists, the Catholic Church has moved very far from its position in 1948, when it insisted on the internationalization of Jerusalem.

IT IS PERHAPS significant that during their visit, the French priests met with only one local Roman Catholic churchman, Father Marcel Dubois, who this year received the ICCJ's Sir Sigmund Sternberg Award for promoting interfaith understanding.

At a reception in his honour at the residence of the British ambassador, Dubois said that if he were to make a sketch of the basic elements of Christianity, the culmination of these elements would be a portrait of the Jewish People.

He spoke of the benefit of living as a Christian among the Jews of Israel, adding that the "permanent encounter" between the two in the Holy Land was "an example to all nations."

Jews and Christians, said Father Dubois, were both separated and united by "the mysterious person of Jesus," whom he described as a "common sign of interrogation between us." His conclusion was that "we have reached the point where we can say we agree to disagree."



Mounir and Leila Shaer and their family; right, Mounir decks a neighbourhood tree with multi-coloured lights.

(Photos by C. Nativicov/Media Images)

Jingle bells on the Carmel

David Rudge

"I DIDN'T want to wake up in the morning. Then I remembered it was Christmas Eve and I rushed to get ready to go to school." said 11-year-old Boulos Shaer.

"I could hardly wait for the time to pass until the evening when Santa Claus would come to our home, bringing presents for all the family," he added.

For thousands of Arab Christian children, like Boulos, December 24 is a very special day with its own unique atmosphere and spirit.

It marks the beginning of a magical and mystical holiday in which commercialism has become intrinsically intertwined with traditional religious rites.

"It's a day when everybody is happy and people love one another. It's a wonderful feeling," said Boulos.

This palpable atmosphere extended to the school where Boulos studies alongside Moslem Arabs, Druse, Beduin and other Christians.

"The spirit of Christmas was in the air and the attitude of the children, even though we don't all share the same religion," he said.

Boulos returned home to find his

father, Mounir, precariously perched in the topmost branches of an eight-metre high pine tree in the garden behind their block of flats.

Mounir, an installation supervisor for the KDH commercial refrigeration factory of Carmel, had taken the day off work to prepare for the holiday.

With the aid of his friend and neighbour Hanna Faraj, another Christian Arab, he was busy trying to festoon the tall, spindly fir with multi-coloured lights to "brighten up the block with festive cheer."

"I wanted to do something so that everybody in the flats would feel the holiday atmosphere," said Mounir after struggling throughout the morning to install the illuminations.

A *womena* neighbour brought refreshments in the form of treacly Turkish coffee. Mounir explained that the woman and her lawyer husband are Moslems, but they "like to share in the spirit of the occasion."

The lights attracted the attention of other residents from the block, the majority of whom are Jewish. "It will be nice to have some pretty lights this year," said a Jewish neighbour.

THE SHAER family, Mounir, his wife Leila and their three children, Amir, aged 17, Christine, 14, and

Boulos, live in Rehov Abbas in Haifa's Hadar Hacarmel quarter. It is one of the few truly mixed communities in the country.

Of the 40 families in the block where they live, 15 are Christians, a few Moslems and the remainder are Jews.

Yet according to Mounir the relationships between the families are excellent. "We don't have any trouble and we join in one another's holidays," he said.

While he was talking, another neighbour called out to Boulos, asking him in Hebrew to fetch her two packets of milk from the local grocery store.

Inside the Shaers' small, but tastefully-furnished flat, the atmosphere of Christmas was all-pervading.

A Christmas tree, bedecked with decorations and flashing lights took pride of place in the corner of the living room. Underneath the tree, Boulos had placed some rocks from the garden, covered with cotton-wool snow to form a grotto depicting the nativity scene.

The television, meanwhile, was tuned to Middle East TV where Christmas films were being screened.

A Jewish neighbour, from across the hall, and her daughter visiting

from a kibbutz, popped in to admire the tree and wish the family *Hag Sameach*.

They were pressed "eat or drink something" to commemorate the holiday. Another Jewish couple, from the block, brought a bouquet of flowers.

The Shaers enjoy entertaining and no more so than over the Christmas period when their ineluctable hospitality knows no bounds.

Beer, whisky and wine flow like water and food is present in a mind-boggling abundance.

The uninitiated visitor is likely to leave the household with a full stomach and a fuzzy head.

"It's all part of the Christmas spirit," said Mounir. "If people are happy, then we are happy," he added, as his wife prepared the midday meal with the help of their daughter.

Christmas, for the Shaer family, like most Christians, is essentially a time for giving.

The highlight of Christmas Eve is the arrival of Santa Claus, who personifies the spirit of the occasion.

The appearance of the red-coated figure, Papa Noel, complete with white beard, and black boots, would be comical in any other circumstances. But not at Christmas.

Ring a bell to announce his arrival, Santa Claus is a thrice-welcome guest in the Christian households in the neighbourhood.

For the younger children in particular, this is the moment they have been waiting for. "Will Santa Claus bring me the presents I wanted?" they ask themselves in a frenzy of excitement.

In the case of Boulos, his wishes were answered. After eagerly unwrapping the gift paper of the present, delivered personally by Father Christmas, he discovered a box of Space Lego. "It's just what I wanted," he declared, and proceeded to take out the pieces, prior to building a space station.

Gifts were also forthcoming for his elder brother and sister who each received expensive Parker pens.

Their parents derived as much pleasure from the gifts themselves, and from seeing the expression of gratification and pleasure on the faces of their children.

"Christmas, for us, is more about giving than receiving," said Leila. A Jesus gave his life that we all might live." She pointed to the little boxes of watercress growing underneath the Christmas tree.

"The cross symbolizes new life and fresh hope, which is what Christmas is all about," she said.

CHRISTMAS is also a time for the family, when all the offspring get together for an annual reunion.

On this occasion, the Shaers visited the home of Leila's family in Nazareth. The table there was laden with traditional Christmas fare, complete with turkey, barbecued meats, a veritable host of salads and enough liquor to keep the average family satiated for at least a year.

More than 20 people, including children, had assembled at the house to partake of the feast and celebrate the holiday.

"Christmas for us is very much a family affair. You meet people you don't see throughout the year and

everybody is happy," said Mounir. "You eat and drink a lot, give presents and generally have a good time," he added.

"You sit down together and talk, while the children are playing with their new toys. It's a very special atmosphere. Everybody feels warm and comfortable. There are no feelings of envy or jealousy," said Leila.

CHRISTMAS is also a time for spiritual renewal and reaffirmation of beliefs ingrained since childhood.

Mounir and Leila are both Roman Catholics. They describe themselves as traditionalists without being overly zealous.

Nevertheless, one of the highlights of the holiday is the midnight mass. They returned from Nazareth in time to attend the service at their local Latin church in Rehov Hameginim in Haifa's downtown quarter.

The high-domed building, with the cross of Jesus forming the centrepiece on the rear wall, was decorated, as befitted the occasion, with Christmas trees and, in one corner, with a nativity scene of the baby Jesus lying in a manger with his parents, the wise men and shepherds in close attendance.

Shortly before midnight, a doll, representing the child Jesus, was reverently placed in the manger.

For the first time Boulos accompanied his parents to the service. Although the church was less than half full, the solemnity and significance of the occasion was not lost on the youngster.

He said he had been "deeply moved" by the service and the communion afterwards. "I can't express my feelings very well, but I'm glad I went," he said.

The family returned to their home, picking up where they had left off, eating, drinking and talking into the early hours.

"I suppose we would feel the atmosphere of Christmas more if we lived in a predominantly Christian neighbourhood, but I wouldn't want to swap," said Leila.

"We have such good neighbours and we get on so well all the year round, and that is what is important," she added.

For Mounir, whose late parents were of Lebanese origin, Haifa is home. "I was born and raised here. I went to a Jewish school and most of my friends are Jewish. Even though I'm a Christian like the rest of my family and my wife's family, this is my home and I wouldn't want to live anywhere else," he added.

Christmas morning found the family having a lie-in after their exertions of the previous day. Mounir tried to persuade his wife to forgo cooking the traditional Christmas Day meal and "eat out" for the first time. His efforts, however, appeared to be in vain.

The couple were expecting several Jewish friends to drop in during the course of the afternoon.

"Christmas is traditionally the time of peace and goodwill to all men, but we like to think that we apply that maxim throughout the year," said Mounir.

"Come and visit us again, but not just at holiday time," he added as this reporter packed up his pen and notebook after spending Christmas with the family.

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AT FIRST GLANCE, sabbaticals seem like a bit of a racket. Every member of a university faculty is entitled to one year in six abroad. He forfeits his pay. Instead he gets - from his university - a foreign-study grant. It comes to \$3,115 a month for a full professor (plus a seniority allowance amounting to \$2,335 a month after 30 years). Less elevated people get less, down to \$1,619 for a lecturer (plus a modest \$245 a month for seniority). The grant is in foreign currency and the net pay is scarcely less than the gross, \$100 a day being tax-exempt. In addition, for each academician, a sum is set aside to finance participation in foreign conferences, symposia or seminars.

Once again the allocation varies with rank. The full professor has \$4,911 available annually, ranging down to \$1,983 for a lecturer. There is a provision for juniors, with a paltry sum of \$781 a year for a deputy assistant.

The allocation accrues from year to year, and when the academician retires at a ripe old age, he can withdraw the unexpended portion for his private use.

It must be difficult to resist the lure of foreign travel. In practice, each beneficiary must satisfy the university that he has a genuine academic assignment overseas, and nobody I spoke to suggested that his commitment is not complied with.

Why, then, take issue with the opportunity for such a mind-broadening experience, given that the sabbatical is an accepted prerogative in all the world's reputable institutions of higher learning? Because Israel's universities are over-extended, and now face a serious financial crisis.

Economy is the order of the day. Every outlay must be closely scrutinized, including the outlay on sabbaticals. Are they a waste of money?

LEONORA REINHOLD, professor of plant physiology at the Hebrew University, is convinced that the expenditure is fully justified. Serious research has to be innovative and the challenge is taken very seriously. Specialists in each field, those who are good, tend to be workaholics. They go to the periphery of human knowledge and beyond, they probe things never probed before.

It is lonely, obsessive, baffling work. The number of people functioning in the same specialized subject all over the world is limited; the talented ones know each other by name.

"We have to meet at intervals," says Reinhold. "We have to spend time working side by side. Each person doing original research

With economizing the order of the day, David Krivine questions whether the automatic granting of study abroad is justified

Are sabbaticals a waste of money?

is burdened with problems and agog with possible solutions. He must talk about these things with people in the know, people who understand the issue.

"The exchange of ideas is vital and illuminating. Once upon a time, lone thinkers toiled in makeshift laboratories. In those days, scientific progress was sporadic and depended on individuals of genius. Now there is much more teamwork and science is advancing at a breathtaking pace. If you can't confer with others, you are left behind."

Are there not fellow-scientists in Israel with whom to consult?

"I work in plant-membrane physiology," says Reinhold. "There are only one or two people in Israel dealing with that topic. Don't imagine that it's only the Israeli going abroad who benefits from his sabbatical. The advantage is mutual, the foreign scientist wants the contact just as much. The best universities in the world send their scientists on sabbaticals. Even they have something to learn."

Cannot the aim of making contact with foreign scientists be achieved by exploiting the many visiting academics who spend their sabbaticals in Israel?

"If we use that as an excuse for keeping our own scholars locked up at home, our intellectual standards will drop - and which foreign professor, with all the world's universities to choose from, would come to a third-class institution for his sabbatical?"

MICHAEL DAVIES, professor of public medicine at the same universi-

ty, brings up another point.

"A lot of scientific research requires costly equipment and materials that we don't have in Israel. We must stay ahead in electronics, chemistry and other branches - our industry depends on it. Research scientists are opening new horizons and will contribute to keeping these enterprises ahead of the race 10, 20 years from now."

"But they need more developed research facilities than we can afford. Some places are enormous, like Cern in Switzerland, which is a centre for the whole of Western Europe in nuclear physics research. People from all countries queue up to spend time there, Israelis included."

"If we are talking about economics, it is cheaper to send our experts abroad, where they can use expensive technological equipment in other people's laboratories, than it would be to buy the equipment for ourselves, even if we had the money."

But is one year abroad in six enough?

"People often stay longer if they need to. There is a thing called *halai*, the Hebrew acronym for 'leave without pay'. A man may decide to remain abroad two years instead of one, the second at his own expense. Or the university may let him draw on his foreign-conference allowance, or else his host university may finance this extended stay, if he is really good and can help them in their work."

"Some of our top-calibre physicists could not have reached their



Leonora Reinhold

(Aliza Auerbach)



Michael Davies

(Aliza Auerbach)



Israel Bar-Ghil

pre-eminence without these prolonged spells abroad. They help keep the Hebrew University in the forefront among institutions of higher study."

Do all the professors and lecturers use their sabbaticals to such good purpose?

Reinhold believes that nearly all do; she cannot think of any who have deliberately neglected the opportunity offered. Besides, she adds, it is normal to publish a learned paper after a sabbatical, and that requires a lot of hard work.

Davies is more sceptical. He notes that only a minority of academics go on to accomplish great things in their respective fields. The rest benefit too, but not enough to change the course of events in their faculties when they return home. That is life, he says. Not everyone in any workplace is first-class.

"You cast your bread upon the waters. If one in five does brilliantly well, that is a good result."

ISRAEL BAR-GHIL, retiring director-general of the Hebrew University, an administrator who sees the practical side of things, believes that most sabbaticals are good and important, even if a minority abuse them.

But does everybody require them? He is not so sure.

"The need is greater in the sciences, less in the humanities. A scholar whose subject is Jewish studies may not be unduly handicapped in his investigations by confinement to his home country."

That does not mean he never has to travel abroad. A teacher of Jewish

philosophy may need to consult works in a foreign library and the opportunity should be made available to him. On the other hand, his stay in universities abroad does not have to be institutionalized.

Sabbaticals, Bar-Ghil goes on, are an investment in the lecturer's future. But some trips are made by individuals who are at the end of their careers. "What is the point of giving a sabbatical to a person who is due to retire the following year?"

How much does all this travel cost the university?

"We have 1,200 academic staff members, each entitled to two months a year of sabbatical time. So at any one moment, 200 of our faculty are overseas. The academic year is really only nine months; therefore the time spent abroad comes to 1,800 man-months a year and the cost, to NIS 8 million. We save NIS 3.6m. on unpaid salaries. Consequently, the net outlay is only half that figure."

On being pressed, Bar-Ghil admits to another extra expenditure. If at any one moment over 15 per cent of the teaching personnel are in foreign parts - this additional to sick leave, holidays, army reserve service, etc. - the size of the teaching staff has to be greater than would otherwise be the case; which has budgetary implications, too.

Do those abroad spend all their time on research? Not in every case, says Bar-Ghil. It depends not a little on the character of the individual.

"It is possible to supplement the sabbatical allowance by earnings overseas. Small, distinguished universities are glad to let visiting

scholars lecture to their students for a fee. That kind of hospitality is not available in major academic centres such as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology or the University of California. The competition is too fierce."

"A scientist who is devoted to his subject will apply to eminent places where the finest work is being done, even though it is difficult to get in and only top-grade research people are admitted. They won't earn any money on the side, but that is not their intention. What interests them is the high-quality scientific work performed there."

People do not have to prove themselves to rate a sabbatical; it is enough to be on the academic staff of a university. That is not an easy accomplishment in itself, but once enrolled, some opt to relax. Not all are equally ardent in the search for knowledge. There is the kind of lecturer whose wife, for example, would like to visit, say, Los Angeles, so he chooses a minor university nearby and combines business (including a stipend for teaching) with pleasure.

Is not the foreign-currency allowance unconscionably high?

Bar-Ghil thinks that the gap between grades is excessive. Why should a professor get twice as much as a lecturer? On the other hand, the sabbatical is part of the salary package accruing to persons who choose the academic life.

"You must calculate all that a scholar earns over a seven-year-period salary, research grants, sabbaticals and money for conferences overseas. Divide the total by seven,

and the resulting annual remuneration is not high by international standards."

"If it were lowered, our universities would not be able to attract the best minds to their service," concludes Bar-Ghil.

WHAT BOTHERS the onlooker is precisely that: the "bonus" character of this costly privilege. The sabbatical should be a mission undertaken for a special purpose, or an investment by the university in the development of its resources. Instead it is a perk. To their credit, the recipients do not generally treat it as such - but ought they to be faced with the temptation?

Perhaps foreign travel should cease to be an automatic right. The universities should continue to offer finance for residence in research institutions abroad, but on the basis of need.

Applicants would have to prove that their work necessitates participation in a project, or the use of equipment, or access to material, or consultation with other scientists in some specified locality outside the country. If the assignment is essential, it would be approved.

That would spell the end of the sabbatical as it is understood in the Western world. There would be howls of protest. Why, frustrated academicians would say, should Israel be different from other states?

Which is presumably why, despite the financial crisis that engulfs Israel's universities, the multi-million yearly outlay on sabbaticals will remain in the future unquestioned as a bedrock of academic life.

Mapam MK Yair Tzaban argues that the stock exchange 'should be put in its proper place'

The only profit that's not taxed

OF ALL THE actors in the Israeli economy, it seems that the heads of the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange should be the last to give marks to others, whether directly or through the financial reporters covering their activities. Their record as raisers of capital for investments is far from impressive. On the other hand, their contribution to the turning of the stock exchange into a national lottery successfully competing with *Mifal Hapayis* is hard to deny. I am sorry to say that if somebody ever undertakes a study of the rise and fall of the exchange, it will not be easy for him to find many financial writers who fulfilled, promptly and faithfully, their role as the watchdogs of the public interest. Only a handful of financial and economic commentators dared, in those merry days of the exchange, to tackle the serious issue of how it affected our national will to do productive work or really invest in the economy. A general euphoria then prevailed around the exchange,

and almost everything was swept along by the current, until that big collapse, and the Bejski Commission. Then everybody became wise... for a little while.

This month's closing the stock exchange for a day, as a hysterical reaction to an egg that should have, but has not yet been laid, is a worrisome indication that the lesson learned by the heads of the exchange was short-lived. They have relapsed into their old ways, together with some financial reporters, among them Pinchas Landau. This is a pity, since the economic staff of *The Jerusalem Post* (Merhav, Maoz), was, in the past, among the few in the Israeli press who warned against the unrestrained raving in the stock exchange and its destructive effects on the economy.

I have earned Mr. Landau's ire (*The Post*, December 12, 1986) by demanding that the Knesset Finance Committee summon the heads of the exchange in order to check what

caused the hysterical reaction to the news of the Treasury's intention to impose a circulation tax on stock exchange trading. My demand was to look into the possibility that the reaction stemmed from a combination of interests of certain economic groups who wanted to create panic so they could buy securities cheap, and of certain political circles who wanted for ideological reasons, to scrap the proposed tax.

Some reporters have even accused the executives of the exchange of helping the manipulation by their cancellation of trading. Because of this, those close to the market could offer large supplies without taking the risk of having to sell the initial supplies. The closing of trading that day made this manipulation possible and increased the panic.

It must be checked, therefore, which of the supplies on that day were real, which were initiated by those close to the market, and whether there has been a manipu-

lation which caused losses for the small investors, and moreover, was aimed at protecting the privilege of the totally tax-exempt trade in securities.

TO GO back to Landau's criticism, what is so wrong about the public's representatives in the finance committee making the lives of the heads of the stock exchange and the capital market a little harder? If these honourable gentlemen had been living in the U.S., they would have had to encounter much greater hardships than the toothless investigation suggested by members of the Knesset every once in a while. Not only am I not ashamed, I am proud of my "second profession" as the gadfly of the exchange, unlike those political and economic circles who worship it as if it were the golden calf. This bowing down to the stock exchange, over and above what is acceptable in the western world, is one of the original Israeli manifestations of the process of de-productivization we have been experiencing during the last 10 years.

With all due respect, of what achievements can the stock exchange boast, except for manipulations and speculations? What has it contributed to productive investments in the Israeli economy? There were days, not so long ago, when industrial plants and big production companies, instead of looking for every possible way to extend, deepen and improve their production and export, hastened to invest huge sums of money in the stock exchange in order to doctor their balances.

Mr. Landau speaks about intellectual honesty and "socialist hypocrisy." I have news for him: no Bejski Committee has ever written a report about the "socialist hypocrisy" of either Mapam or myself. On the other hand, the various interests meddling in the stock exchange have been the subject of such a report. And what a report! It is worth looking into from time to time, not as a punishment, but for self-education.

It will not hurt the "champions of free enterprise" to look through newspaper reports of what has been happening in the stock exchanges of London and New York in recent months and maybe through some history books about the '20s, too. They may then try to explain to themselves how Israel could have

possibly broken out of the destructive inflationary cycle according to the rules of "the free market" and non-interference.

THE LATEST commotion in the stock exchange followed the sensible suggestion, that, together with other distortions in taxation, the discriminatory exemption of profits generated in the stock exchange from any tax will be revoked. There is neither economic reason nor social justice in a total tax-exemption for stock exchange profits only when no other kind of profit enjoys such an exemption.

A person who works and receives a salary has to pay income tax. A person who invests his money in an industrial venture and makes a profit has to pay taxes. A person who buys and sells products or services has to pay a tax on his or her profits. A person who puts money in the bank and enjoys a profit in the form of interest, has to pay a tax, however small. Only in the stock exchange can you buy and sell to your heart's desire, whatever and whenever you want, make as much profit as possible, and not pay any tax whatsoever. There is not even any incentive to hold on to the securities as an investment. And all this, of course, is done in the name of the cherished principle



Yair Tzaban

ples of "the free market." It is as if the brokers were saying: "You, the wage-earners, the industrialists, the merchants, all the tax-payers - you are all enslaved. Only we, the priests of the golden calf of the stock exchange, are free!"

This discrimination which favours stock exchange profits is, first and foremost, an economic problem. But whenever someone wants to rectify this social-economic distortion, groups with economic or ideological-political interests raise the hysterical outcry: "Do not slaughter the goose that lays golden eggs," as they accuse, was done during the Sapir era. Without idealizing that period, one might say that even though the stock exchange was not very impressive at that time,

there were investments and economic growth. But since the stock exchange has acquired such a good opinion of itself, however, there have been neither investments nor growth.

Now, when the Israeli economy is shrinking back to its natural dimensions, after having been blown up like a balloon filled with inflationary air by, among others, the stock exchange, the latter should also be put in its proper place. A tax on stock exchange profits is a good, reasonable economic means to achieve that. The objections raised against it only serve special interests and speculators, and have nothing to do with turning the stock exchange into another avenue of raising capital for investments.

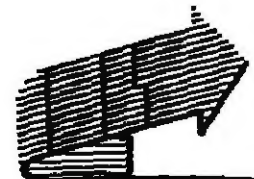
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MARKET PLACE
PINHAS LANDAU

Tidings of comfort

At the end of another week of rumors, hearsay and ups and downs, the share market recovered its balance and went home yesterday in reasonably good shape.

The latest bout of stock market taxation passed off quietly, with one day of no great consequence, despite the efforts of most of the Israeli media to draw everyone's attention to this pseudo-problem.

The market, however, has now got steadier nerves and can deal with the "wolf, wolf" brigade without being paralyzed. This is not because it is now more or less convinced that the wolf, namely a tax of some sort (probably a turnover tax), is at the door. The point is that markets look wolves in the face, count their teeth, discount the damage they think they will do, and carry on trading. That is why markets are such powerful and useful mechanisms - when they are allowed to work.

It seems that even the exchange management has accepted that the market can be left to sort itself out, and not be opened and shut according to the whims of the news editors in the afternoon dailies. At any rate, this week's jittery did not lead to a repeat of the trading halt that we suffered two weeks ago, and that was criticized in this column.

Our argument then was that the exchange, as a self-regulating body, should have been the first to accept that the market is a self-regulating mechanism. It shouldn't have to respond to rumors, demand government clarifications and stop trading, on its own initiative. Later, and more tongue in cheek, we noted that by intervening, the exchange management had got itself tied up with MK Yair Taubman and the Knesset Finance Committee, and had only itself to blame for that.

We forgot, however, that people in glass houses shouldn't throw stones. Now Yair Taubman is after us (see page 20) for intervening about his intervention about the exchange's intervention in the run of trading. The point about the evils of unnecessary intervention is thus brought graphically home - although we doubt Mr. Taubman would agree on that score.

For the record, it should be noted that this column, and indeed The Jerusalem Post in its editorials, has been consistently in favor of taxing the stock market. Nor do we accept the excuses for not implementing a full capital gains tax - and if it requires every income-receiver in the country to file a tax return every year, then so much the better.

We are thus on the same side as Mr. Taubman, and even for some of the same reasons. Since there are so few issues about which we have the rare pleasure of lining up with Mafpan, the disappointment at being misunderstood, and hence criticized, was that much greater. There must be a moral in this somewhere.

Getting back to the market, its ability to shrug off the latest attack of media-inspired hysteria seems to be convincing evidence that the dominant role in it is passing inexorably to the institutions. Its underlying strength also lends support to the view that it is going to continue going up - barring totally unforeseen developments. These are themes that we will examine in more detail in a year-end review next week.

At this juncture it is more important to remind people to take full advantage of the tax breaks available on deposits to provident funds, insurance schemes such as "manager's insurance," life insurance and advanced training funds. For that matter, it is worth pointing out that charitable contributions are also tax deductible up to certain limits. The last few days of the tax year are at hand, and it is worth checking with one's accountant to what extent one can profitably utilize these tax breaks.

The banks are happy to advance loans for people making deposits into provident funds under their management, and several banks have announced loan facilities for self-employed persons who need to make income tax payments for the current tax year. Unfortunately, no bank has published a loan scheme to finance donations to charity. Nor is it advisable to ask your bank manager for one, in case he thinks you mean yourself, and cuts off your credit altogether.

Since the continued existence of all these tax breaks is now in question, it seems sensible to take full advantage of them while they are still around. We'll miss 'em when they're gone.

Verdict on January 15 in Ya'ari-Granot trial

TEL AVIV (Him). - The verdict in the trial of Hava Ya'ari and Aviva Granot, charged with the March 1985 murder of tourist Mala Malavsky, will be announced in the district court here on January 15.

The trial of the two women began in March this year. They were arrested about 10 months after Malavsky's body was found on the beach between the Sde Dov Airport and the Mandarin Hotel, north of Tel Aviv.

Buying Beit Shemesh Engines
Is Ormat biting off more than it can chew?

By SIMON LOUISSON
For The Jerusalem Post
YAVNE. - Can a private company, Ormat Turbines Ltd., digest Beit Shemesh Engines Ltd., or will the apparently healthy alternative-energy company end up choking on the debt-ridden state-owned concern?

Ormat is one of four companies asked to evaluate a takeover by the ministerial committee charged with determining the fate of the aircraft engine manufacturer. Neither the ministerial committee nor Ormat admit to making the initiative, but the suspicion is that it came from Ormat following its recent financial restructuring.

Some synergies exist between the two companies, not the least being that both were established with the financial backing of the French industrial group, Szydlowski. Ormat designs and manufactures low-energy electrical generators, a field that entails precision engineering, while Beit Shemesh produces jet engines, industrial gas turbines and electric turbo generators.

Hard financial information is difficult to obtain on either company because neither is publicly listed, but Ormat had sales of slightly over \$25 million last year, compared with \$20m. for Beit Shemesh. While its sales exceed those of Beit Shemesh, Ormat's work-force is roughly half of the engine maker, which now employs 800. That many give a clue to the problem facing any buyer, including Ormat.

A month ago Ormat announced that a group of American investors had taken over the 50 per cent share of the company owned by the Szydlowski Group. Like most new owners, they are seeking new directions and opportunities.

The American group joining co-owner Yehuda Bronicki is headed by William Davidson and David Hermlin. Davidson is owner and chief executive of Guardian Industries, which had made it to the Fortune 500 list before it was taken private. Hermlin is a leading businessman from the American Jewish community.

Also involved in the group is the investment banking firm Goldklang and Co. Ephraim Reiner, the former chairman of Bank Hapoalim and now head of Goldklang and Co. Israel Ltd., will head the American representation on Ormat's board.

It is clear that Ormat will have nothing to do with Beit Shemesh's accumulated debts of over \$65m. However, the government won a promise from the bank creditors to write-off \$20m. of the debt and has already given an indication that it is willing to assume a good part of this. Whether Ormat would be able to reverse the annual losses now running at \$24m., even without the debt burden, is the issue now being evaluated.

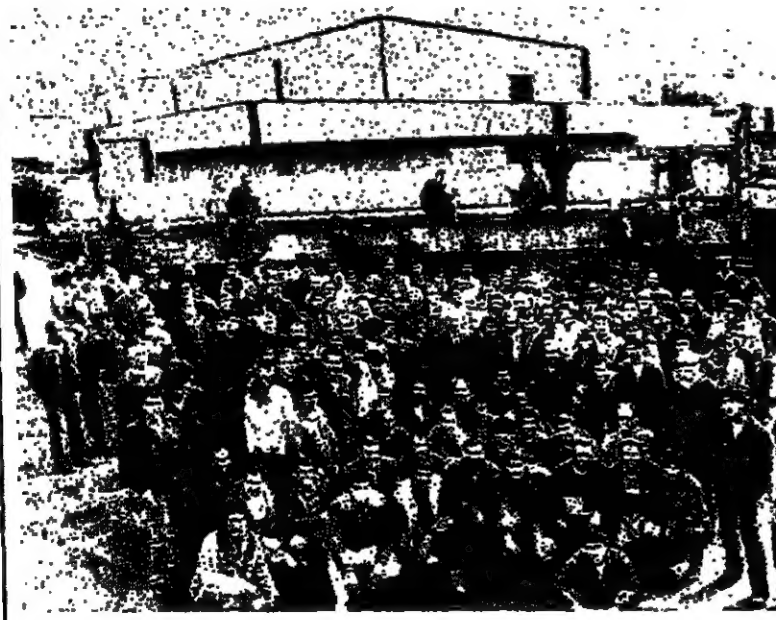
According to Michael Gill, Bronicki's assistant, Ormat is taking the issue very seriously and hopes to have its evaluation ready in a matter of weeks. Gill says the financial restructuring did not occur with Beit Shemesh in mind but he readily admits that new partners are "normally starting something, not closing things."

Ormat has recently gained management experience through its subsidiaries, Solmat, Orbot and Orgem, he notes. Solmat was established to develop the \$55m. Dead Sea solar pond project, while the other two are small, high-tech companies. Whether this constitutes the kind of management experience needed to take over a large company with huge problems like Beit Shemesh, however, is another matter.

Ormat itself, as an alternative-energy company, has seen its growth curbed in the last year or so because of the dramatic drop in world oil prices. While it remains a very strong exporter, with over 90 per cent of its products going overseas, turnover has been stagnant this year and for 1987, the company projects a decline in sales.

Ormat's core business is based on large turbines from geothermal and industrial waste sources, but the company gets strength from diversification. In addition to its three subsidiaries, the company produces greenhouse dehumidifiers, assembly electric diesel generators, and aircraft and heavy engine generators.

With the price of oil already rising, and possibly set to rise further, Ormat has the technology in place to take advantage of a demand for alternative energy sources. Whether it has the expertise and excess managerial capacity to put Beit Shemesh back in the air is a question for Ormat and the government to decide.



Ormat employees with a turbine: The company has gained experience in managing subsidiaries, but Beit Shemesh Engines still poses an enormous challenge. (Scoop 80)

BUSINESS BRIEFS

Matam to reopen Sunday under new ownership

Salon Mercari, a Tel Aviv importer and retailer of home appliances, is purchasing the Moshav Movement's failed discount chain, Matam, Salon Mercari President Tuvia Nadav said last night.

He said in an interview over Army Radio that he hoped to reopen the five-store chain on Sunday under a new name.

He promised that customers who had put down payments on goods but never received them from the old Matam would be able to get their purchases.

"Within a week all customer who paid for goods will receive what they paid for," Nadav said.

He also promised that Matam's employees would be paid the salaries owed them through the date the company closed down and any other compensation they were entitled to. He said that starting January 1, he would begin rehiring workers after the company has determined its needs.

Nadav did not specifically address the problem of how Matam would pay the \$15 million in debts it owes, principally to Mizrahi Bank, but he said an orderly arrangement would be worked out in about a month.

Matam, formerly owned by the Moshav Movement, was closed down about three weeks ago when Mizrahi turned down a plan to reschedule its debts.

FLORAN LTD., a Tel Aviv-based cosmetic concern, has won a \$260,000 order from the British company SOD to supply alopecia-vera-based products to be sold under SOD's name.

Floran has exported some \$200,000 in cosmetics to France.

including after-shave lotion, nail polish, creams and make-up, sold under the Colbert brand name. Annual turnover is \$1.5 million.

The company also exports to Romania and Australia.

ISRAEL SHIPYARDS LTD. this week won a contract to build a tug for the Ports Authority, worth over NIS 7.5 million. The 450-ton tug, which will also be able to serve as a fire boat, will take 16 months to build. Another, larger tug, for the new coal port in Ashdod is also to be built by the yard, a spokesman said.

LASER INDUSTRIES LTD. said this week that its U.S. subsidiary had entered into a long-term agreement with the West Germany medical products firm MBG-Medizintechnik GmbH to distribute MBG's line of medical laser systems in the U.S.

As part of the agreement, MBG was offered a three-year option to acquire up to 100,000 ordinary shares at \$14.10 each, a price equal to 120 per cent of Laser's ordinary shares at close December 18.

MBG's continuous wave Nd:YAG medical laser systems, which deliver the beam through flexible fibres to the operation site, will enable Laser's American subsidiary Sharplan Lasers Inc. to offer a wider product line in the U.S. Laser sells 102 surgical and ophthalmic laser devices.

Laser's products are sold under the Sharplan name.

Happy Hanukkah to All Our Visitors.

Altering the exchange rate would only rekindle inflation

Productivity will bring growth

THE PRESIDENT of the Manufacturers' Association has strongly criticized the economic plan prepared by the finance minister, on the grounds that it will not solve the problem of the balance of payments. And indeed, the issue of the growing trade deficit confronts us in all its gravity.

Granted, the country's foreign currency reserves are, for the moment, satisfactory, and thus allow us additional time. But we are again moving into a period where the sand in the hourglass is running out. If nothing is done to resolve the problem, our only hope would be that our friends in the U.S. will add some more sand to the foreign currency reserves "clock." Even if this hope is realized, we would have to pay the moral and political price involved in receiving support from a foreign

A vital condition for sparking increased productivity is the reduced involvement of the government and local authorities in economic and social matters, along with a massive reduction in the state budget.

power. And what we receive would be no more than a further extension, until the reserves run out again.

For this reason, some respected industrialists are demanding that the economic programme include a policy of exchange rate adjustment, as a method of solving the balance of payments problem. The more cautious among them propose export incentives, and perhaps import levies. Some also suggest devaluing the currency, without any additional sophistries. They claim that the exchange rate has remained frozen for a long time, while input costs, especially labour, have crept slowly upwards. As a result, our competitiveness has been hurt, the profitability of exports in some sectors has become doubtful, while the profitability of imports, primarily among consumer goods, has risen.

Altering the exchange rate, whether through a sophisticated technique of incentives and levies, or through a simple devaluation, would even in the best case only serve to align international prices with the current unreal level. It cannot change this reality itself, and for that reason a devaluation will not solve anything fundamental.

THE CORNERSTONE of the economic policy introduced by then pre-

mier Shimon Peres's government was a price freeze that included the exchange rate. This step by itself did nothing to change the structure of the economy or increase productivity. It merely ended the perverse system that had existed until then, whereby prices were themselves affected by the general price index. The price freeze snatched this system of price linkages that had fed on themselves and had brought the economy to uncontrolled hyperinflation.

The proposal to devalue and as a result possibly to unfreeze other prices, would bring us back to that system of an inflationary price cycle. It would not change the structure of the economy, nor would it help productivity.

The balance of payments problem can only be solved by an increase in productivity. Such a policy cannot be formulated, and certainly cannot be implemented, without the recognition on the part of the government, the Histadrut and the employers, that the problem of productivity is the overriding economic issue facing us.

To solve this problem, what is needed is a purposeful programme, whose implementation would involve a change in some values, as well as the pain of frictional unemployment - that period of job loss created when labour moves from one job, or sector, to another. Only cooperation between the government, Histadrut and employers could bring about the firm implementation of a plan such as this.

The main burden of this kind of programme would fall on the government. A vital condition for the structural change that would spark increased productivity is the reduced involvement of the government and the local authorities in economic and business matters, along with a massive reduction in the state budget (including local authority budgets). The hitherto accepted approach has been that the government can go on increasing public spending so long as it can expand tax collection and so long as the public budget deficit can be limited to a size that will ensure price stability.

This criterion is a necessary, but not sufficient condition, because it does not take into account the economic burden that the budget imposes on the business sector. Public expenditure per capita in Israel is among the highest in the world, even if one deducts defence spending, which is massively funded by U.S. assistance. On the other hand, the services provided by the public sector are not first rate, nor even second. Financing this expenditure

falls ultimately, whether directly or indirectly, on the business sector. A significant reduction in this expenditure would result, inter alia, in a reduced burden on the business sector and thus lead to an improvement in its competitiveness in foreign markets. This contribution is infinitely more valuable than export incentives, whose financing would in the end also be imposed on the business sector.

WE HAVE often been "threatened" that cutting the budget will harm our security, or the standard of education, or health, and so forth - all these being national goals of the first magnitude. But before cutting these activities and thus harming vital interests, it is possible to cut out all those activities that involve the government in economic processes.

In order to conduct its business, the private sector has to have recourse to a wide-ranging system of licences and authorizations. It is also obliged to file various reports in order to obtain permits for activities. The system of licensing, inspection and governmental and municipal direction touches agriculture, industry, hotels and commerce.

Individuals, too, need to go to government offices, whether they are olim, house-buyers, or settlers. The government insists on creating various services and distributing them "free," despite the fact that the provision of these kinds of services by the private sector is more efficient.

Reductions in these activities reduce the power of the various ministries, and this explains the opposition to implementing these cuts. De-regulation of the business sector and a simultaneous slash in public expenditure are essential and require cooperation and determination on the part of all government ministers and especially of the leaders who would mould the plan in detail and oversee its implementation.

The government's role requires the transfer of employees from one post to another, as well as dismissals of workers in the public sector. Here is where the Histadrut enters the picture. Without its cooperation and agreement regarding the transfer and dismissal of public sector workers who would be unemployed until their absorption into the private sector, the plan cannot be implemented.

Nor is that all. The wage policy would have to be rooted in a direct link between the cost of output and wage rises. Only a clear-cut link between wages and productivity can bring about a significant rise in pro-

ductivity. In recent years, the primary grounds for wage rises have been erosion in terms of rising prices or the erosion of one group of workers' wages in comparison with another.

A change in standards is needed. The only sacred value must be that wage hikes would be permitted for increased productivity. Apart from this, wages should be frozen. In the current political balance of forces, wage hikes that are unsupported by increased output will not lead to a change in the distribution of income, but to inflation.

Employees must also forgo all price rises, including a devaluation in the exchange rate, whether direct or indirect. A continued price freeze accompanied by reduced government involvement would oblige employers to concentrate on improving the management of their businesses, while increasing the productivity of both capital and labour - because their salvation will stem from these alone. The ones to survive and prosper would be those firms whose productivity improved and whose competitiveness grew.

This sort of plan, whose main aim is improved productivity, requires bold action involving a fundamental change in accepted practices and norms in government, the Histadrut and the business sector. Its success demands not just recognition of the validity of this approach, but also the political ability to introduce such a

Wage policy would have to be rooted in a direct link between the cost of output and wage rises...

In recent years, the principal grounds for wage rises have been erosion in terms of rising prices or of one group of workers' wages in comparison with another.

plan. One can only hope that our economic leadership will succeed in cooperating and leading the economy to increased productivity and thus to economic independence.

David Wainshall is president of Supersol Ltd.

NOTICE

European and U.S. financial markets were closed yesterday for the Christmas holiday. For the same reason, shekel exchange rates were unavailable yesterday as well. Local bank interest rates were unavailable due to technical problems.

Fifth group puts in bid to build mall in capital

By KEN SCHACHTER
For The Jerusalem Post
TEL AVIV. - Melia, a new construction group, entered the bidding to build a mall, dubbed the "Jerusalem Canyon," on 45 dunams in the southwest part of the capital.

Today is the deadline for tenders and thus far four other groups have submitted bids, including the builders of the Canyon in Ramat Gan.

The \$30 million project was initiated by a joint committee from the city of Jerusalem and the central government.

Melia spokesmen said they expected their financing package would give them an edge in the bidding on the 40,000-square-metre project. They said they planned to raise \$25m. in the U.S. through the sale of securities carrying an annual interest rate of 8.4 per cent over 10 years. Typically, the interest rate for such a package on the U.S. market would be 15 per cent.

The Melia group was formed by attorney Dov Barzilai, a former mayor of Hadera; Nehemia Kaplan, who has built shopping centres in Tel Aviv, Askelon and Hadera; and Yehuda Jivati, a former vice president for properties and development at Coop supermarkets.

They own a two-thirds share of Melia. The remainder of the company is owned by two American investors, the Picko Group, New York-based specialists in real estate finance, and the Noll-Novick group, experts in the development of commercial properties, with branches in Florida and Pennsylvania.

The developer is expected to be chosen in about two weeks. The mall site is located near the Holyland Hotel.

Melia's plans call for the mall to be run along American management lines. Key personnel would be sent to the U.S. where they would be exposed to techniques practised there.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

MARKET STATISTICS

Indices:			Turnovers:			4.25% fully-linked		
General Share Index	123.68	-0.63%	Shares - total	NIS 8,785,900		80% linked	32500	20
Non-Bank Index	160.37	+1.15%	Arrangement	NIS 1,903,800		Mixed to 1%	8720	+3.2
Arrangement	108.21	+0.32%	Non-bank	NIS 5,882,100		Dollar-linked:		
Insurance	337.81	-0.27%	Bonds - total	NIS 7,987,800		Admon	2055	3022
Commerce, Services	196.38	+1.61%	Index-linked	NIS 4,852,500		Rimon	4210	175
Real Estate	200.90	+0.95%	Central-linked	NIS 3,275,400		Gilboa	16150	720
Industrials	141.65	+0.73%	Treasury Bills	NIS 1,849,400		Hapoalim	2325	940
Metals	158.16	+1.22%				For Curr.	2940	313
Electronics	98.16	+0.81%				Fertilisers	4550	116
Chemicals	127.33	+0.20%				Hafia Chem.	428	3057
Industrial Invest.	136.82	UC				Dead Sea r	3970	6775
Investment Cos.	166.72	+2.65%				Petrochem.	548	9487
General Bond Index	117.80	UC				Naschem.	6700	377
Index-linked Bonds	119.98	-0.01%				ARK 1	14151	30
Fully-linked	122.00	-0.03%				Hadera Paper	263000	56
Partially-linked	118.61	+0.01%				Central Trade	8000	125
Dollar-linked Bonds	94.38	-0.10%				Koor p	676960	0.3
Short-term 0-2 yrs	114.73	+0.01%				Clal Inds.	1890	8137
Medium-term 2-5 yrs	116.33	+0.07%						
Long-term 5+ yrs	111.50	-0.18%						

SELECTED PRICE QUOTATIONS

Name	Price	Volume	%	Trade & Services				Oil Exploration			
100NIS change											
Commercial Banks											
(not part of "arrangement")											
Maritime 1	1100	1719		Meir Ezer	1300	2507	+5.3	Elron	28000	20.0	
General non-arr.	2120	88.0	-3.8	Supersol 2	7950	850	+6.1	Aviv	32500	50.0	
First Int'l	3415	1068		Delek 1	3310	3747	+3.8	Cial Electronics	1920	872.0	
FIBI	4380	1457		Lightage	14000		-0.0	Spectronix 1	2055	302.0	
				Gold Storage	1850	378.0	-0.8	T.A.T. 1	4210	175.0	
				Dan Hotels	1486	212	+6.4	Ackstein 1	830	720.0	
				Yarden Hotel	2730		+3.0	Agan 5	16150	5.0	
				Hilon 1	24570			Alliance	2325	94.0	
				Team 1	1897	676	+4.6	Dexter	2940	31.0	
								Fertilisers	4550	111.0	
								Haifa Chem.	429	305.0	
								Teva	5840	10.0	
Commercial Banks				Real Estate, Building and				Investment Companies			
(part of "arrangement")				Agriculture							
IDB	9245	402	+0.5	Asarim	801	5312.0	-	Deed Sea r	3970	677.0	
Union 0.1	61400	54	+0.5	Elion	5301335.0	+4.5	Petrochem	549	948.0		
Discount	105100	130	+0.4	Africa Isl. 0.1	36400	96.0	-	Neca Chem.	6700	37.0	
Mizrahi	33760	315	-	Denmark	4010	340	-8.7	Frutaron	14141	3.0	
Hapoalim r	55955	964	+0.3	Prop. & Bldg.	3375	1037	+2.0	Hades Paper	26300		
General A	142810		+0.4	Bayside 0.1	4480	411	-	Central Trade	800	12.0	
Leumi 0.1	35840	1271	+0.4	ILDC	59159	173	-	Koor p	6783650	0.0	
Flr. Trade	48001		-	Rasoco r	8104	37.0		Cial Ind.	1490	813.0	
				Mehadrin	7680	139	-0.5				
				Haderim	1330	1253	-				
Mortgage Banks				Industrials							
Leumi mort. r	6880	403	+3.1	Dukeb b	4800	1515.0	-0.7	IDB Dev. r	4940	228.0	
Dev. Mort.	2395	431.0	-	Pr-Ze 1	11450	54.0	-	Elion	3430	645.0	
Mizrahi r	2420	289	-1.0	Sunfrast	16450	100.0	-	ARK 1	14151	24	
Telexmort	6545	388	+10.0	Elite	535	3657	-	Gahelet	1398	437.0	
Morav r				Argaman r	17000	42.0	-	Israel Corp. 1	11120	1.0	
				Delta G 1	3000	477	-	Wolfson 1	115000	0.0	
				Maquetta 1	5100	322.0	+2.0	Hapoalim Inv.	6290	9.0	
				Eagle 1	18000	19.0	+1.3	Discount Invest.	3020	5282.0	
				Polgat 0.4	3545	324	-	Mizrahi Invest.	21800	1.0	
				Schoelland	15400	38.0	-	Cial Ind.	913	339.0	
				Rogovin	2700	136.0	+2.7	Landol 0.1	3620		
				Urdan 0.1 r	8995	76.0	-	Pama 0.1	10443		
				Is. Can. Co. 1	2800	3146	+2.8				
				Zion Cables	2250	153	+1.1				
				Pector Steel	12528	98.0	+1.0				
				Elbit 3 r	382000	10	-				

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Rehovot, Rehovot, Rehovot, P.O. Box 4810 (31047) Telephone 645444. Published
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Suggestion for Mr. Sharir

ACCIDENTS will happen in choosing ministers for cabinet portfolios no less than in getting by car from here to wherever. But sometimes what purports to be an accident turns on inspection to have been just plain folly.

Thus when a politician with a law degree but with neither legal experience nor a proven judicious temperament who may be fit to be a tourism minister, is also saddled with the heavy responsibility of a justice minister, the chances that he will acquire himself honourably in the latter role are slim. That, alas, has been the country's experience with Avraham Sharir.

To his credit, Mr. Sharir had not exactly sought his party colleague Yitzhak Moda'i's post last July: it just fell like a ripe fruit into his ready lap. Mr. Moda'i had sorely offended the then premier, Shimon Peres, and had to go. His successor, so it seemed, had to be another cabinet Liberal, and in the absence of a better candidate it had to be Mr. Sharir.

The hope was nevertheless widely expressed at the time—in this column, too—that the stop-gap arrangement pending the rotation, as it was billed, would not be long-lasting. If only because it was unthinkable that the Justice Ministry should for any length of time be treated as an appendage to the Ministry of Tourism.

Five months later—and nearly two months after the rotation—Mr. Sharir is still holding both portfolios. During this period of time he has not only failed to repair the damage caused to the Justice Ministry by his predecessor—who did not think too highly of such trifling concepts as the rule of law—but has greatly accelerated the process of devastation. His chief aides in the ministry are completely at odds with him on basic legal issues, and it has been with the greatest difficulty that Mr. Sharir was able to obtain legal counsel from the State Attorney's Office to defend him in the High Court of Justice against challenges to his decision not to extradite convicted murderer William Nakash to France.

The Nakash case has engaged much of Mr. Sharir's energy during these past few months. The hearings in the matter have only started, and it remains to be seen whether the High Court will or will not sustain the minister's refusal to extradite. The withering interrogation to which his representative was subjected by the entire five-judge panel, headed by the court's president, Meir Shamgar, should, however, give Mr. Sharir a pause, at the very least.

This much would seem to be indisputable. A justice minister who, despite a valid extradition treaty, declines to hand a convicted murderer back to the country of which he is a citizen and on whose soil he committed the crime—is by all odds a queer fish as justice minister. And if his stated reason is fear that the murderer's life might be endangered in the foreign jail, but he has not even bothered to inquire whether this fear has any substance, then he is queerer still.

Whatever the court's decision in the Nakash case, it is reasonable to assume that Mr. Sharir's days as justice minister are numbered.

Premier Yitzhak Shamir suggested this week that the burden of two portfolios was rather too heavy for Mr. Sharir. And two cabinet ministers who are outstanding lawyers, one as a practitioner, the other as teacher—Labour's Moshe Shahal and Shimon's Amnon Rubinstein—are reported to be seeking Mr. Sharir's immediate replacement by Herut's Haim Corfu, currently the transport minister.

That may not be an ideal solution but it is not a bad idea, in the circumstances. But Mr. Sharir himself should lose not a day in offering his resignation as justice minister to the premier. Bowing out before the High Court hands down its judgment may in fact save him from further needless humiliation.

Israel's paparazzi

DESPITE occasional indications to the contrary, Israelis like to think of themselves as a civilized people. They may, it is true, misbehave at soccer games, but never in the brutal manner of the British these days. They are not exactly resistant to the lure of sensationalism, but it was the Italians who gave birth to the snoopers' paparazzi. Israelis are not like that at all.

Well, now. The impression gained by visiting Victoria Principal, better known as Pamela in the highly popular "Dallas" television series—now briefly off the local screen—has been just a trifle different.

Ms. Principal arrived here on a private visit with her Jewish husband, Dr. Harry Glassman, a few days ago. It was most certainly not a publicity tour, which must be the last thing the "Dallas" star needs. She may not have objected to an occasional interview or photograph, but that did not satisfy our media people. They would be content with nothing less than a massive assault on Ms. Principal's privacy here.

Embarrassed by the constant harassment, she decided to cut her visit short.

Talk about paparazzi.

POSTSCRIPTS

P.S. A NOTEBOOK discovered in a drawer of underwear and containing notes from a Shakespeare play was auctioned for £165,000 in London recently.

Sotheby's, the auctioneers, called it "the most important manuscript related to Shakespeare's dramatic work ever offered for sale at auction."

It contains two pages of handwritten text of Henry IV, Part I, and is thought to have been jotted down by a spectator at a performance of the play in 1597, Sotheby's said.

It was sold by an unidentified English family which found the vellum-bound, water-stained notebook under a pile of underwear in a drawer. It was bought by a book dealer for an anonymous client.

P.S. BRING 200 litres of white wine to a simmer, add 10 quarts of kirsch, slowly put in 300 kilos of cheese and stir with a canoe paddle.

This recipe followed to the letter recently in the village of Thonon-les-Bains in the French Alps, produced the world's largest cheese fondue, with weights and measures carefully checked by the town clerk for submission to The Guinness Book of World Records. Thonon's soccer team was put to work cutting up 50,000 chunks of break to soak up the record-setting mixture.

The previous record cheese fondue, as listed by Guinness was produced in the French town of Saint-Gervais in 1984, using 188 kilos of cheese.

Inside the clash over Nissim's economic plan

David Krivine

FINANCE MINISTER Moshe Nissim's economic recovery programme is not the first attempt to reform Israel's existing system, but it is the most controversial. The entire Labour movement plans to strike against it, though Nissim insists that it can only benefit the workers. What has caused this passionate reaction?

Nissim gives expression to what is supposed to be the philosophy of his party, the Liberals. Up to now Israel has been saddled with a "mixed economy"—a mixture of socialism and capitalism. Private enterprise was permitted to function because that was economically advisable, but it was bound and shackled in order that it should not abuse its powers.

Nissim wants to remove the shackles. Trade unionists are shocked. The rich will be allowed more money in the hope—Histadrut chief Yisrael Kessar says sarcastically—that they will invest it; though in all likelihood, he maintains, they will spend it on increased luxury consumption.

The conflict is between two ideologies. Labour believes in equality, the Liberals in freedom. Labour wants to control incomes by taking from the rich and giving to the poor. The Liberals are against controls, they put their faith in the forces of the market.

Faithful to this principle, Nissim has decided to dismantle the income-equalizing arrangements inherited from the past. What he has drawn up is a revolutionary scheme, yet he has tacked it on to his budget proposals for 1987. Reactions to this somewhat authoritarian approach are likewise divided. Labour supporters say that major changes cannot be introduced at the drop of a hat, before lengthy consultations are conducted with all the parties involved—workers, employers, merchants, exporters and the various political factions which represent these different interests.

Nissim's defenders will reply that Israel has an elected government whose job it is to govern the country until the next poll. If it starts marionette talks with every vested interest in the country before taking decisions, the decisions will never be taken.

THE TREASURY reform plan divides into four parts. The first is the budget proposal—and everything depends on that. Government spending must be reduced by a further NIS 500m. Unless that is agreed the other three projects will come to nil.

What are those other three projects? First, all tax exemptions are to be abolished. Second, the rate of taxation is to be reduced—for everybody. Third, business companies wanting capital will have to turn to the banks and the stock exchange instead of lining up outside the exchequer.

These three projects are interlinked. The rate of taxation cannot be reduced unless the privilege of tax exemption is abolished, otherwise the Treasury will run out of revenue. In defence of his policy Nissim explains that on the average, people will not carry a bigger tax burden than before, but its distribution will be less eccentric.

At present the government takes most of people's money away and gives it back for selected purposes (capital investment, old-age pensions, night shifts, advanced training funds, etc.). Nissim proposes to take less from everybody so that he has no redistributing to do. People will pay tax according to their income and nobody will get special privileges, not even the industrialists (to their disgust) nor—unfortunately—vulnerable groups like the war invalids who would seem entitled to everything that society can spare.

The third proposal, reform of the capital market, depends for its success both on the tax reform and the budget cut. This needs explaining. The budget cut will continue a process begun in the Peres-Moda'i recovery plan of 1985. Up till that time the government was the sole borrower and the sole lender, so to all intents and purposes there was no capital market.

The cause of this lacuna was inflation. In boom time the economy is flooded with an excess of borrowers. The government has to make sure the right sectors get the money (industry, exports) by rationing it out.

It also subsidized these rationed loans because inflation had put up the price of credit—which underlines the government's role as a lender. It

The Friday Dry Bones

A HANUKKA NIGHT'S DREAM...

EAT ME. I'M A JELLY DONUT.

NO! I WON'T DO IT! YOU'RE AS HARD AS A ROCK AND TWICE AS HEAVY!

EAT ME. I'M A TRADITION!

I REFUSE! YOU CAN'T FORCE ME!

IN THE OLD DAYS YOU JELLY DONUTS WERE LIGHT, FLUFFY, AND FILLED WITH JELLY!

STOP THIS TRAITOROUS TALK!!

NEXT YOU'LL BE WRITING MESSAGES TO THE PRESS ON YOUR PALM?

I... I... MUST HAVE DROPPED OFF MY CHAIR.

HAVE A HAPPY HANUKKA... BUT DON'T TOUCH THOSE DONUTS! LATKES LIVE!

borrowed expensively and loaned cheaply, something no other financial intermediary could do. The cost was a veritable increase in the national debt.

The national unity government has tried to halt inflation, with partial success. If inflation is finally eliminated, interest rates will drop. If they drop, the government will no longer need to subsidize industrial and other loans. If the government reduces its expenditure it will require less borrowings for its own purposes. In these circumstances the capital market will come into its own.

The big advantage of Nissim's liberalistic system is that the authorities will cease to act as a brake on private enterprise. Communications Minister Amnon Rubinstein recently visited the Far East and wrote an article in Ha'aretz praising the spirit of economic freedom which has turned the diminutive and barren port city of Hongkong into a fast-growing state than Israel.

Nissim would like that go-getting atmosphere to exist in Israel. If a working person knows that however much he earns he can keep more of it for himself than he surrenders to the Finance Ministry, he will breathe more easily and work harder. If a

businessman knows that should he want more money he can get it without fuss, he will be more willing to invest.

To get the money up to now he had to entangle himself in the bureaucracy of government committees with all their uncertainties and delays. That should not be necessary under Nissim's plan. The government will abdicate from the capital market. Borrower and lender will meet freely without ministerial intermediaries, as they do in London, Paris, Frankfurt, New York and Tokyo.

These three factors—a balanced budget (which will lead to lower interest rates), a reasonable tax system and an open capital market should lay the ground for economic growth.

WHY DOES THE HISTADRUT find fault with such a grandiose fulfilment of the liberal vision? Because of its scepticism about the market system. It does not believe in the virtues of the untrammelled businessman. If capital is available on equal terms to all, the funds may go to financing beauty salons or luxury penthouses instead of financing the development areas. If the rich pay less tax, they may buy bigger

cars and take more holidays abroad instead of investing in export industries.

Meanwhile, Labour men point out, working men lose on the swings what they gain on the roundabouts. If their tax is decreased, their tax exemptions are sacrificed, and the one offsets the other. In some cases the loss is greater than the gain. Lower taxes on the rich will mean less revenue for social services. Higher net incomes for the rich will mean a redistribution of the national income in their favour. Nissim's plan betters the lot of those at the top of the income-scale, it does not better the lot of those at the bottom.

Should economic growth be restored, Labour critics will have been proved wrong. The rich will have invested their extra money as Nissim predicts. If there is no economic growth, the rich will have wasted their substance on good living, as the trade unionists say they will.

Here, then, is the dilemma that Israel faces, whether to trust the market or to distrust it and go on controlling it. That is basically what the high-level committees appointed to study Nissim's proposals will have to decide.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

READERS' LETTERS

A DUNERA CHILD

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Israel Television is to be commended for showing the Australian Television production of *The Dunera Boys*. This true, historical occurrence concerning German Jewish refugees from Nazism has been neglected for far too long.

Some of my friends thought the Dunera story was merely a TV drama, but it is all true, although ship-board treatment of the Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany was much worse than that shown on the film.

After World War II, the German submarine captain wrote a book about his encounter with the Dunera (which he escorted to safe waters).

My father Leonard Adam was among those unfortunate refugees from Nazi Germany who were arrested in Britain following the fall of Dunkirk and shipped to Australia on board the Dunera. He frequently spoke of the inhumane treatment received on board "the hell ship Dunera," but said that from the moment the ship arrived in Melbourne, everything changed for the better. Apparently refugee committees welcomed the Dunera's "cargo" with tea and sandwiches.

I should be very interested to hear from Dunera "passengers" (or their children), in particular those who were interned at Tatura in Victoria.

MARY-CLARE ADAM
POB 11558
Tel Aviv.

FRONT PAGE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I was disturbed to find a meaningless picture of a Tokyo subway on page one of your issue of December 15: it took six times the space allotted to the eighth anniversary of the death of our beloved leader Golda Meir on page two.

HARRIET GALLER
Jerusalem.

INVESTMENT CLUBS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I would like to take this opportunity to compliment you on the very wide appeal that your newspaper obviously has in the United States. In answer to my letter which appeared in your Jerusalem edition of November 9 and in your International Edition of November 22, we have had an enormous show of interest from your readers from all parts of the United States.

I would like to advise your readers of our next bi-monthly meeting of the Tri-State Council, which will take place on January 18, 1987 at Edible Pursuit, 325 Fifth Avenue New York City. The meeting will be sponsored by Carmel Containers.

WALTER LILIE,
Tri-State Council of
Israel Investment Clubs
Brooklyn.

THE BABA'I

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Israel owes to the Baha'i one of the country's loveliest landmarks, the dome and garden without which the Haifa hillside would look like Trenton on a tilt. Though their shrine is central to the landscape, the Baha'i mostly stand aside from the society. Their religion is a proselytizing religion, but in deference to us Israelis, they do not proselytize.

They provide a steady trickle of tourists, who are not noted for getting drunk, working illegally or introducing drugs.

Now it seems that the Baha'is being prevented from building further because of taxes from which they are exempt. Rather than simply not collecting those taxes, the authorities insist upon collecting and then returning them. This when the same authorities are already in arrears on millions in unreturned Baha'i money.

Are the Baha'is being picked on despite their mild and diffident behaviour, or because of it?

MARK LEVINSON
Herzliya.

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